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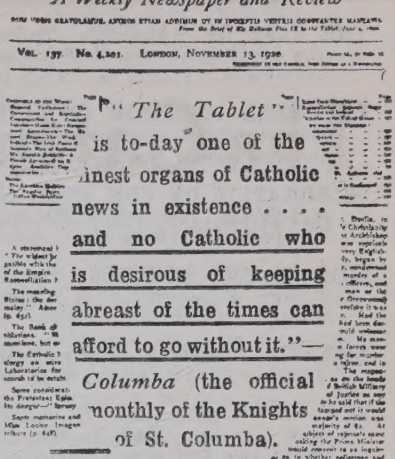

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THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000

Paid up Capital..... £500,000 | Reserve Fund..... £575,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, ESQ., Chairman

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, ESQ.
PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY, ESQ.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN, ESQ.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN, ESQ.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 27th day of July, 1925.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1925, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£52,885 0 10
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account, less £10,000 transferred to Staff Widows and Orphans Fund	16,123 15 1
	£69,008 15 11
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£15,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Ten per cent. per annum free of Income Tax	25,000 0 0
To Income Tax Suspense Account	7,250 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000 0 0
To next Account	16,758 15 11
	£69,008 15 11

The Reserve Fund now stands at £575,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS
General Manager

DUBLIN, 14th July, 1925.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1925. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	453,587	11	11
Reserve Fund	575,000	0	0	„ Investments, viz.:—			
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,842,726	11	8	War Loan and other British Government Stocks	5,772,195	18	7
Sundry Agents	32,185	3	5	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	187,822	12	10
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	12,693	6	7		6,363,606	3	4
Profit and Loss Account ... £69,008 15 11				„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	7,456,528	10	4
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 15,000 0 0				„ Sundry Agents	7,668	8	1
	54,008	15	11	„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	188,810	15	10
	£14,016,613	17	7		£14,016,613	17	7

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1925.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	129,173	7	7	By Balance from last Account ...	26,123	15	1
„ Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	15,000	0	0	Less: Amount voted by General Meeting on 26th January last, to the Staff Widows and Orphans Fund	10,000	0	0
„ Dividend to be paid in August, 1925, free of Income Tax ... £ 25,000	s. 0	d. 0			16,123	15	1
„ Income Tax Suspense Account	7,250	0	0	„ Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	182,058	8	5
„ Bank Premises Acct.	5,000	0	0				
„ Balance to next Acct.	16,758	15	11				
	54,008	15	11				
	£198,182	8	6		£198,182	8	6

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1925, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 14*th July*, 1925.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
T. LEVINS MOORE,
PATRICK J. BRADY. } *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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VOL. XIV No. 55

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1925

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ARE WE LIVING ON OUR CAPITAL?

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THE Trade and Shipping Statistics published by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce have proved the source of a great deal of journalistic pessimism. The "adverse balance of trade" is referred to as though it were the beginning of the downfall of the Free State, which nothing short of a miracle could prevent from ending its days in the bankruptcy court, if not in a debtor's prison. Before accepting these gloomy views it might, perhaps, be worth while to examine the Irish trade situation with a little more detachment and scientific criticism than is usually devoted to such an inquiry. "Import and export figures," according to Sir Robert Giffen, the greatest expert on this subject, "cannot be handled with facility; there is a world of knowledge to be learnt concerning them; and in all directions sound and diligent study must precede any good use of them." [1] The result of such a "sound and diligent study" may be to demonstrate that the situation is not so black as it is usually painted.

In the first place it is by no means certain that the adverse trade balance is as great as the published figures suggest. There is a possibility of error both in the quantities and in the values of the imports and exports. The error in the quantities is probably not very great, but nevertheless a certain margin of error must be allowed for goods which are smuggled across the frontier, and for small but valuable articles consigned by registered letter post or conveyed in the luggage of travellers. The possible error in regard to value is much greater. Mr. Hooper, in his introduction to the Trade and Shipping Statistics

[1] *Essays in Finance.* Second Series, pp. 237-8.

for 1924, draws attention to the possible errors in the valuation of non-dutiable goods transmitted by parcel post, which, as he points out, form an appreciable part of the trade of the Free State. The customs check on the declared value of non-dutiable imports is defective, and it is still more defective on that of non-dutiable exports. Mr. Hooper also draws attention to the fact that, while the number of sheep exported is correctly stated, they are greatly undervalued. It is probable that this is true also of the cattle exported. If this be so, the value of the exports is materially underestimated.

Coming to the other side of the account, I have heard it stated on good authority that the value of certain imports was exaggerated for the purpose of easing the burden of income tax when that tax was at a higher rate in Ireland than in Great Britain. Companies operating both in Great Britain and Ireland were anxious to show as large a proportion of their profits as possible to have been earned in Great Britain, and as small a proportion as possible in the Free State, in order to escape the higher rate of tax, and they were consequently tempted to overstate the value of the goods which they landed for sale in Ireland. Goods sent to retailers on consignment and not on purchase are not accompanied by an invoice or statement of prices, and their proper value can be ascertained only when thay have been examined and sampled by the consignee. Again, when goods are being sent to an inland town in Ireland, their invoiced value frequently includes the full cost of transport, even inside the Free State, and no allowance is made for the retail merchant's discount.

These instances are mentioned, not as important matters in themselves, but as examples of the kind of error that is liable to be found in any table of estimated or official values. The possibility of fraud or of negligence on the part of traders and of officials cannot be overlooked ; and it must be remembered that, even if the figures are

assumed to be accurate, they still represent official values and are not identical with what the merchant realizes. "We must always consider," Sir Robert Giffen warns us, "when we deal with these declared or other values, that they are not necessarily the same as the realized values, but are only the best substitute we can obtain for them, and we must not use them as if they were accurate to a fraction." [1]

Imports and exports moreover are valued at a different stage on their journey from the producer to the consumer. The value of imports, being taken at the place of arrival, includes the cost of conveyance and insurance, while that of exports, being taken at the place of departure, does not include that cost. The truth of this statement is strikingly shown by calculating the total imports and exports of the whole world, when it will be found that the total value of the imports is in excess of that of the exports. "An excess of imports," Sir Robert Giffen remarks, "in the aggregate trade of the world is a permanent fact." [2] In a word, the whole world would appear to suffer from an "adverse trade balance"—an obvious impossibility, the explanation of which is to be found in the different basis of valuation applied to imports and exports respectively.

Another matter that must be carefully looked to in ascertaining the true amount of the trade balance is the utilization of imports as raw material for our industries or as feeding stuffs for our live stock trade. The re-export of these commodities in finished articles is not always obvious or easily recognizable. The "imports for domestic consumption" are probably overstated in the official tables, not through any forgetfulness on the part of the officials, but because of the practical impossibility of recognizing the raw material when it leaves the country in its finished form. Thus the published figures of imports and exports are liable to err in many particulars. The

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 148. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 170.

quantities may be erroneously estimated, and the values are even more likely to be inaccurate. Even the most perfect figures represent only official and not realized values, and imports are valued on a different basis from exports. The true nature of the balance cannot be arrived at until an exhaustive inquiry into re-exports is made.

But even if, when all these margins of error are allowed for, the balance of trade still continues adverse to the Free State, what then? The newspapers find this simple fact conclusive evidence against the stability and credit of the country; the trade balance is against us, they say, therefore we must be running into debt or living on our capital. The truth of the matter is that the trade balance itself is no more than one single item in the general account of our international transactions. Professor Bastable points out that "the mutual relations of nations or trading groups are not all comprised in the actual exchange of commodities. When intercourse is of long standing and when it has become possible to move capital with comparative ease from country to country, the exports and imports become but one element in the sum of commercial transactions" [1]; and Professor Nicholson warns us that "it is a great error to argue that because there is an excess of imports, a nation is practically living on its capital." [2]

A country makes and receives innumerable payments other than those for goods sold and delivered. In the first place, its inhabitants may have invested money abroad in respect of which they are in receipt of interest or dividends. When the investment is made, it must be reckoned as so much money leaving the country, while each instalment of interest and each dividend received afterwards must be reckoned as money coming in. Conversely, foreigners may invest money in the country,

[1] *Theory of International Trade*, p. 73. [2] Palgrave: *Dictionary of Political Economy*, vol. I, p. 85.

in which case the occasion of the investment must be reckoned as money coming in, and the payment of annual interest or dividends as money going out. Let us take a couple of examples. An Irishman buys a hundred pound five per cent. debenture stock in a South American railway. In the year in which the investment is made, a hundred pounds leaves the Free State; every subsequent year five pounds returns. Take the converse case. An Englishman buys a hundred pounds five per cent. debenture in a new company floated in Dublin. In the year that the company is floated a hundred pounds enters the Free State; every subsequent year five pounds leaves it. Now it is obvious that every annual payment of this kind gives the person receiving it the power to purchase goods from abroad for which he need not give any goods in return. What is given is not goods, the visible export, but money, the invisible export. On the other hand, every foreigner who receives dividends from investments in the Free State is entitled to buy goods for which he need not send goods in return. What he sends is not goods, the visible import, but money, the invisible import.

It is not possible with the figures at our disposal to estimate the amounts which the Free State annually remits and receives in this way. When the separate income tax figures have been made up for a few years we shall have some idea of the amount of interest and dividends which Irish citizens receive from outside investments and of the amount which Irish companies and other borrowers transmit abroad. Meanwhile it is generally conceded that the Free State receives a good deal more than it remits; or that, in other words, it is a creditor and not a debtor nation. Innumerable Irish investors, large and small, have placed their savings in all parts of the world. Every Irish bank is constantly engaged in handling payment warrants from English public loans and industrial companies, Canadian and South American railways, Chinese and Japanese bonds, and every other

class of stock exchange security. On the other hand, comparatively little is sent abroad in this way. Absentee landlords no longer draw rents from Ireland; Irish taxes no longer go to England to pay for the British army and navy; and very little English and practically no foreign money is invested in our public securities, railways, or industrial companies. From this point of view, Ireland is in a strong financial condition. She receives more from abroad than she remits, and is a creditor nation to a large amount. Some estimates place Ireland's "private means" at the sum of ten millions a year.

The next item that enters into the invisible trade balance is the sum paid in respect of shipping freights and insurance. In the case of a country like England with a great mercantile marine this is an important entry on the credit side of the account, but, unfortunately, only a small proportion of the seaborne trade of Ireland is conveyed in Irish ships and only a small proportion of the insurance business is transacted with Irish companies. These shipping and insurance charges are the principal factors constituting the difference between the basis of valuing imports and exports to which we referred above. In the case of the Free State they must be reckoned on the debit side of our general international balance. It is probable, however, that they do not amount to a very considerable sum, as the bulk of our overseas trade is with Great Britain and the average voyage is short and safe. The sums which are paid to British companies as premiums for life, fire, motor and other forms of insurance must also be taken into account, but it must be remembered that payments made to residents in the Free State in respect of these various classes of claims, if and when they accrue, must be set off against the premiums. The net balance, no doubt, is against the Free State.

Every tourist who visits our shores leaves behind a certain amount of money, and every Irish resident who travels abroad takes away a certain amount of money

which he spends outside Ireland. These sums do not figure among the import and export statistics, but must be reckoned in drawing up the annual international account. In the case of a tourist country such as Switzerland receipts from visitors are a very important item, but in the Free State the amounts of money gained and lost in this way probably about balance. The sums sent by emigrants in America and elsewhere to their relatives in Ireland also constitute a source of income to the Free State which does not figure in the trade statistics, and of the same nature are the payments made by the British government to war pensioners resident in Ireland. On the other side of the account must be placed the payments made by the Free State government under the terms of the Treaty to the ex-judges and other officials and police who have taken up their residence abroad. The amount of these remittances from emigrants and payments on account of pensions could probably be estimated fairly accurately. Lastly, mention must be made of the movements of bullion and specie to and from the country.

It is irrelevant to object that the exact or even the approximate amount of the various items we have mentioned cannot be ascertained by the statistician. The fact that they must remain, for the greater part, incalculable does not diminish their importance. Any attempt to arrive at a true view of the general account of our international transactions which leaves these items out of consideration is futile. The balance of visible imports and exports is but a single figure in a complicated account, which can be correctly made up only when all the invisible imports and exports are considered as well. It would be of the utmost value if the Ministry of Industry and Commerce were to attempt to construct an account of our real international balance of indebtedness. Naturally, many of the figures would be approximate, and some of them merely conjectural, but any errors

that were discovered could be corrected in the next year's table, and ultimately something approaching a reliable account might be achieved. The following survey for 1924 of the international balance of payments of the United States, published by the American Department of Commerce, might serve as a suitable model for our own statisticians :—

(Millions of dollars).

Current Items	Credit	Debit	Balance
Visible current items :			
Merchandise	4,621*	3,641†	+ 970
Invisible current items :			
Interest and dividends	614	150	+ 464
Ocean freights	75	68	+ 8
Governmental payments	—	5	- 5
Services to tourists	100	600	- 500
Charitable and missionary expenditures ...	—	55	- 55
Immigrants' remittances	—	300	- 300
Total, invisible current items	790	1,178	- 388
Total, current items other than gold and silver	5,411	4,829	+ 582
Movement of Capital.			
New foreign loans, exclusive of refunding ...	—	795	- 795
Sale and purchase of outstanding securities ...	319	114	+ 205
Foreign bonds paid off	45	—	+ 45
Principal of inter-allied debt	23	—	+ 23
U.S. Paper currency	—	50	- 50
Total, capital items	387	959	- 572
Gold and Silver.			
Gold	62	320	- 258
Silver	110	74	+ 36
Total, gold and silver	172	394	- 222
Total, all items	5,970	6,182	- 212

* Includes $30,000,000 for unrecorded parcels post packages.
† Includes $40,000,000 for smuggled liquors.

This table is instructive because it shows the essential similarity of the invisible items in the trade balance in spite of their superficial differences. Dividends from investments, freight and commission charges, the expenses

of tourists and the remittances received from emigrants, all possess the common quality that they enable their recipients to command goods from abroad without giving goods in return. On the other side, interest and dividends remitted abroad, freight and commission charges payable to foreign shipowners and brokers, the disbursements of tourists travelling abroad, and remittances sent to pensioners and to relatives in other countries, all necessitate the export of goods for which no goods are received in exchange. The invisible items in the international balance sheet are quite as important, though less accurately measurable, than the visible ones. Without taking them into consideration it is impossible to say whether the national accounts balance. To draw conclusions as to the national stability and credit from the visible imports and exports alone is fallacious and misleading.

It is only when all the relevant items, visible and invisible, have been taken into account that it is possible to say whether the country as a whole is living beyond its income. That the Free State is pursuing this imprudent course is assumed by the newspapers, which find in the trade statistics an unfailing source of pessimism and national self-depreciation. If the Free State were in fact living beyond its means, its profligacy would be reflected in the banking statistics. An examination of these statistics has been made by Dr. Francis L. Leet, who gives his conclusions in a paper read before the Dublin Social and Statistical Society. Dr. Leet finds that the reduction in bank deposits in 1924 represented but a very small fraction—less than ten per cent.—of the apparent adverse trade balance, from which he infers that "extensive accretions come to the credit balances of customers from other than export sources which have in effect produced almost an equation of indebtedness"; in other words, the real as apart from the merely visible international account of the Free State almost balanced. These conclusions drawn from a study of the banking

statistics are not infallible, because it is impossible to distinguish between the deposits of the nine Irish banks in the Free State and in Northern Ireland, and it is fruitless to attempt to decide whether deposits were withdrawn for the purpose of liquidating external liabilities or of financing internal capital extensions; but, even making full allowance for these difficulties, Dr. Leet expresses the opinion that "our equation of indebtedness, as shown by the banking position, is almost established."

There is no reason for doubting the correctness of this opinion. If the country were pursuing the rake's progress which the newspapers suggest, some evidence of it would be forthcoming in an outbreak of bankruptcies, in a general reduction in the standard of living, or in a widespread selling of foreign securities. No unusual number of bankruptcies has taken place; the standard of living, as far as one can see, has risen rather than fallen; and stockbrokers do not notice any widespread selling of foreign securities nor any falling off in the readiness of the Irish investor to subscribe to attractive new issues in England or abroad. Indeed, there is no indication that the Free State is living on its capital. Everything points in the other direction, namely, that it is not a debtor but a creditor nation, living well within its means.

It may be worth mentioning here that, even if the complete account, prepared in the way we have suggested, showed a balance unfavourable to the Free State, that fact in itself should not cause us any alarm until we had ascertained whether the year was a normal or abnormal one. Short period price variations might alter momentarily the value of the imports or exports without implying any real change in the nature of the trade transacted; or the falling due of certain non-recurrent payments, such, for example, as the maturing of long dated securities, might cause an adverse balance in the particular year in question. Professor Nicholson points out that contingencies of this

kind might give a favourable balance of indebtedness to an absolutely insolvent country.[1] No reliable conclusion as to the real international commercial position of the Free State will be possible until we have statistics not for one but for several years. Meanwhile all inferences drawn from the figures published annually must be merely provisional. That is our reason for limiting the present article to a discussion of method, and for refraining from criticizing the particular figures of a single year—by which anything might be, but nothing should be, proved.

The fact that things are not as bad as they are painted is no reason for complacency or self-satisfaction. Every endeavour should be made to increase the volume and to raise the quality of our exports. It stands to reason that the more we export the more we can import in return. That is the essential justification of the government's policy of grading up and standardizing our agricultural products. It is well, however, to bear in mind that the policy of increasing our exports depends for its success on the simultaneous development of our imports. Protectionists cannot get away from the essential connection between the two branches of international trade. The returns of imports and exports for the first five months of the present year show a marked falling off in the imports of most of the commodities that have been protected in the Free State, and it is something more than a coincidence that the total exports during the same period are down by almost exactly the same amount as the total imports. The significant thing is that the difference between the two—the "adverse trade balance," about which the newspapers have been so excited—is practically the same as for the corresponding period of last year, which bears out the contention that the difference between the visible imports and the visible exports is bridged by some invisible, but real and recurring, means of payment.

GEORGE O'BRIEN.

[1] Palgrave: *Dictionary of Political Economy*, Vol. I, p. 85.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

I

IN Great Britain to-day business men, economists and statesmen speak with unprecedented gravity and pessimism about the economic outlook before their country. Nearly six years have passed since an industrial boom gave way to slump. In the first year of depression, in the second year and the third year, there were general hopes of early recovery. It was thought that the trouble was temporary, that it was due to political unsettlement in Europe, that it was a universal, and not simply a British phenomenon, and it would soon pass. Time has not brought improvement. The figures fluctuate, but broadly speaking it is true to say that Britain carries the permanent burden of not less than a million and a quarter unemployed. Thanks to the "dole" which is paid as unemployment insurance benefit, there is less extreme distress in Britain than there was in her most prosperous former periods, but the price has to be paid by the State, by industry and by those workers who retain employment.

There is no longer any confidence that the decline of British industry is temporary. Men hope that recovery will come, but they do not profess to be able to predict when or how. A debate on the trade position and prospects took place in the House of Commons on July 6 last.[1] The debate had been asked for by Mr. Lloyd George, and it was opened by Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade. The special question asked was whether the condition of unemployment which has now lasted for several years was to be regarded as

[1] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 186, No. 98.

temporary or chronic. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister bravely said that he believed it was only temporary, but he did not base his optimism on any expected improvement in external conditions, but on improved efforts by the British people. His words may be quoted :—

> The right hon. gentleman was asking whether the present position is temporary or permanent. I say I believe it is temporary. But the speed with which we can pass through the temporary period of trade depression really does not depend upon any action which any Government Department or even any Government can take. I think that this country would indeed be in a desperate plight if it had to depend on the act of any Government to bring about a permanent improvement. What that improvement does depend upon is as to whether we can give our industry confidence, that confidence which it needs, and as to whether the whole of the British people are to make a national effort to help our industries. The difficulties at the moment will not be overcome through the action or inaction of any Government. They will be overcome by the people having faith in the country, by quality of manufactures, by sound credit, and by the making up of our minds that the future in this respect shall continue the record of the past.

Sir Alfred Mond, a great captain of industry, speaking in the same debate, said :—

> It seems to me that future policy will depend largely upon what basic view is taken of this question. For instance, there is the question of the development of agriculture in this country, and its effect upon the home trade. If the people in other countries who grow food are no longer prepared to buy our manufactured goods, and so enable us to obtain the food we want in order to feed the people who make those goods, obviously there are only two things left for us to do. One is to grow more food in this country, and the second is to send our people to countries where they can grow food for themselves and, at any rate, manage to live, because people live on wheat and not on coal.

Sir Alfred Mond volunteered no answer to his own question. All the speakers in the debate, with one exception, who were men of great industrial knowledge and experience, spoke in the same tone of anxiety. The

one exception was Mr. Sidney Webb, but his speech was unconvincing. The whole debate is one evidence out of many that could be given of the state of instructed British opinion.

II

What are the facts which give rise to so much concern ? The most important fact has already been mentioned—the total unemployment for nearly six years of about eleven per cent. of the labour power of the country, and the partial unemployment of another large proportion. This unemployment is almost entirely due to Britain's loss of foreign trade, and therefore the second fact to which attention may be directed is this foreign trade decline. The precise figures of imports and exports are easily available and need not be given here, especially as pre-war and post-war figures are not comparable unless allowance is made for the difference of price-levels. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister showed the comparative position by percentages which are based upon a common index number. The year ending March, 1925, is compared with the year 1913. Britain's net imports of food, drink and tobacco increased 16·7 per cent., net imports of raw materials declined 2·3 per cent., and net imports of manufactures increased 10·4 per cent.

Turning to exports there was a decline in manufactures of 22 per cent., and a decline in coal exports of 23·5 per cent. Great Britain has practically no other native " visible " exports, but there are " invisible " exports, to be referred to later.

In considering these figures it must be remembered that population has increased by not less than 5 per cent. There has been an increase in imports, with the significant exception of raw materials. The increase in imported food, drink and tobacco is greater than the increase in population, and it seems to show there is a higher standard of living among the masses of the people.

Exports as a whole have declined by not less than 20 per cent., despite the increase of population. Invisible exports are the services rendered by shipping, by banking and insurance firms and various sorts of commission agents. These have to be added to the visible exports in order that we may know how Britain is meeting her foreign indebtedness, arising from imports and other causes. The question is always asked whether a country has a "favourable" or an "adverse" trade balance. If a country's imports exceed her exports it is conventionally assumed that she is buying more than she is selling and that the balance is against her. If she exports more than she imports it is presumed she creates a balance of indebtedness in her favour. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister entered into the question as to whether Britain's trade balance is moving favourably or unfavourably. He considered all imports and exports, visible and invisible, though for the invisible portion he could only give estimates, not exact figures. Britain's excess of exports in 1913 was £181,000,000, a balance in her favour which was available for overseas investment. In 1923 the net balance in her favour was estimated at £102,000,000, and in 1924 £30,000,000. This year the balance seems to be falling to nothing, and, says Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, "We are hardly better than square on the trade account."[1]

These figures of trade balances, unlike those given for imports and exports, are not based upon index-numbers, and as sterling has fallen in value since 1913 the fall in the trade balance was even greater than the figures show.

We know, then, that Britain's exports have declined by at least a fifth as compared with 1913, despite the larger population for which she needs to find employment. Her favourable trade balance has fallen from £181,000,000 in pre-war values to almost nothing. It is not easy to

[1] *Ibid.* page 70.

say how much importance has to be attached to a rise or fall in a country's foreign trade. There might be a compensating movement in the home trade. Has Britain experienced any such compensation? This question cannot be answered with anything approaching precision. Exchanges of goods at home are not recorded like the entrance and departure of imports and exports. We shall know more about the home trade when the returns of the Census of Production are published next year. We may be certain that firms producing for the home market have not lost twenty per cent. of their trade like firms producing for export. It seems probable enough that the home trade has gone somewhat the same course as the import trade, which shows an increase. The existence of the unemployed, however, is plain proof that there has been no increase in home trade sufficient to make up for the decline in exports.

The disappearance of a favourable trade balance means a cessation of investments abroad. Though foreign loans still come on the London market, the investments are made with borrowed money. It does not necessarily follow that there are no longer surplus earnings available for overseas investment, because there may be surplus earnings which are being invested at home. There is no evidence, however, that domestic industrial development is diverting savings from overseas investment. The conclusion is irresistible that year by year Great Britain is finding herself less able to save. The trade balance figures for one year would not be decisive evidence of a country's position, because imports and exports fluctuate from many causes, including monetary ones, and the restoration of the gold standard this year has caused many special operations which are still in course of readjustment. Making all allowances, however, it can be said with certainty that Britain's capacity for saving is now considerably less than it was in 1913, and she may be, as Mr. Lloyd George suggests, living on her reserves,

though Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister takes a more hopeful view and says :—

> But I am sure that we are not living on our reserves. The contrary is proved by the steady saving in War Savings Certificates and in savings banks deposits, and it is also proved by the volume of new issues and by the stability of the exchange. Therefore, while one does not want to under-estimate the seriousness of the position, I am sure it is putting it too high to assume that we are really living on our reserves. We are, undoubtedly, very gravely below our pre-War capacity to invest. Before the war it used to be estimated that, including our foreign trade balance of £180,000,000, we had, in all, something like £350,000,000 of savings available for investment. We are nowhere near that position to-day, and yet to-day we need more and not less for investment, for the obvious reason, as my right hon. friend reminded me, that money does not go so far and that, obviously, any capital enterprises need much more capital at the present time.

Sir Philip's argument is not quite conclusive because he has not reduced War Savings Certificates and savings banks deposits to pre-war values, and he does not show to what extent the nominal wealth in private hands is merely Government debt. Some people imagine that the great increase in Income Tax yield is evidence of increased wealth ; they forget that people invested their savings in Government Bonds during the war and are still drawing income from those investments, but they are not represented by any real productive wealth now in existence.

III

A very interesting question to be considered is whether Britain is suffering no more than her share of a world-wide economic depression. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, said :—

> I think it is also true that to-day we are probably getting our pre-War share of any overseas trade between one country and another that is going.

Though he quoted no figures in support of this state-

ment these may be found in a Government publication,[1] where it is calculated that the foreign trade of Britain bore about the same proportion to the world's foreign trade in 1924 as it did in 1913. British official statistics have high authority, but it must be remembered that the chaotic currency conditions of the world since the war expose all such calculations to considerable risk of error. Though it be true, however, that the British share of world-trade has not declined, the question remains to be asked whether she retains as great a share as her chief competitors. It may be that some countries have lost nearly all their shares, that other countries have increased their shares, while Great Britain has just about held her own. Russia's share, for instance, may have been reduced to almost nil, while America's may have increased. The statement that Great Britain gets her pre-war share of whatever trade there is going conveys the idea that she does not lose relatively to all other countries. The truth is that she may be losing with some countries, like Russia and Germany, while France and America are not losing but gaining.

British exports are from 20 to 25 per cent. below her exports in 1913 at 1913 price-levels. The following other countries show increased exports in 1923 as compared with 1913, using a common price-level for the two years in every case :—Canada, 80 per cent. increase, France, 56 per cent., New Zealand, 54 per cent., Paraguay, 17 per cent., Denmark, 14 per cent., Australia, 12 per cent., China, 12 per cent., Argentine, 11 per cent., Japan, 10 per cent., United States, 4 per cent., Union of South Africa, 3 per cent.

Countries which had decreased exports in 1923 compared with 1913, but whose decreases were smaller than that of Great Britain, were Italy, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Rumania, India, Uruguay. There were other countries which fared even worse than Britain, of which

[1] *A Survey of Overseas Markets* (H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1925).

the chief was Germany whose exports declined 47 per cent.[1]

The facts are, therefore, that Great Britain has lost from a fifth to a quarter of her foreign markets, and though this corresponds closely to the world shrinkage of foreign trade the loss to Great Britain is larger than the losses to France, the United States, Japan, Italy and many other countries that took part in the war. Compared with the other victorious Allies Great Britain has lost both relatively and absolutely, and her loss is the more important because she is the most dependent for her prosperity upon foreign trade.

IV

The next question we have to consider is the causes of Britain's decline. The absolute loss might be explained by the impoverishment and disturbance in all countries following the war, but there is a relative loss to be accounted for. This relative decline is not a new story: it was told before the war to those who had ears to hear. Joseph Chamberlain shouted it from the housetops in the first few years of the twentieth century, but statistical facts were lost in a maze of fiscal controversies.

Natura non facit saltum: i.e. economic evolution is gradual and continuous on each of its numberless routes, was the motto chosen by the late Alfred Marshall for his first great treatise on Economics. If this motto is true, and no economist can doubt it, we need not look for sudden ruin or sudden recovery in Britain's economic affairs. Every economist is impressed with what Mr. Sidney Webb calls the inevitability of gradualness. Britain's economic stock has been gradually falling for two generations. She began her marvellous career of industrial leadership towards the end of the 18th century.

[1] These figures for foreign countries are taken from *Memorandum on Payments and Foreign Trade Balances*, 1910-1923, published by the League of Nations, Geneva, 1924.

By the year 1850 her supremacy was complete and she enjoyed, without strong challenge, the honours and profits of her industrial superiority until 1875. Her success was due to the strong qualities of her people, to her maritime position, her easily-worked minerals, her overseas possessions, and the political troubles of her rivals. There was no reason in the nature of things why Britain should remain the workshop of the world, and in the last quarter of the 19th century she lost her supremacy. France had formerly been her chief rival, but France weakened herself by her restriction of population. It was Germany, after she had been politically consolidated by Bismarck, that first threatened Britain's predominance. The United States, having thrown themselves backwards by their five years of Civil War, were later in the field. By the year 1900 the United States were producing more coal than Great Britain, and in 1903 Britain was behind not only the United States but Germany also in the production of pig iron and steel. These were the basic British industries, and Britain was easily the world's leader in them until 1880, but in 1903 she was only a poor third. Moreover, the United States and Germany had developed new industries to which Great Britain was comparatively a stranger. The States were helped by their almost boundless natural resources and Germany by her scientific knowledge and organisation.

From 1900 to the outbreak of the war Britain was still losing ground relatively to her chief rivals, but she was gaining absolutely, or appeared to be doing so, because of the world-wide rise in prices. The stars in their courses fought against the tariff reform campaign of Joseph Chamberlain. That campaign was launched just before British trade began to enjoy a boom, and so it seemed that Chamberlain's gloomy prognostications were belied by facts, and therefore his remedy was discredited. It is to be observed that the period of advancing exports, 1904-13, was also a period of increasing

unemployment, which gives ground for believing that home trade was not as prosperous as foreign trade, and it is suggested by an American economist, Professor Taussig,[1] that British exports were stimulated because capital was being sent abroad instead of being invested at home.

However we view the situation it cannot be denied that British industry suffered a relative decline compared with her leading competitors between 1875 and 1913, and she has suffered a further decline between 1913 and the present time. Decline was in some measure inevitable; it could not be expected, for instance, that the United States, with their vast and rich territories, would remain inferior in trade and industry to these small islands. The real question of interest is whether Great Britain can continue to maintain her present population at a standard of living that compares not unfavourably with the standards of other leading countries.

V

There is nothing to show that Great Britain is now at any insuperable *natural* disadvantage. By natural disadvantage I mean such disadvantages as her lack of oil-wells or of water-power for the generation of electricity, which some other countries possess to their increasing economic benefit. Britain has still enormous resources of coal, and though there has been much romantic writing about the supersession of coal by other forms of fuel this is discounted by the best authorities.[2] The world's consumption of coal is as great now as in 1913, despite the general industrial depression. Moreover, if science succeeds in showing us economic methods of low temperature carbonisation, coal will have an even greater value in the future than in the past. Britain's climate

[1] *Economic Journal*, March, 1925.

[2] See article by Sir Richard Redmayne in *The Observer*, August 2, 1925.

still remains suited to industry, and she has a first-class system of internal transport. She is admirably placed geographically for international trade and for receiving supplies of cheap food and raw materials from all the countries of the world.

The greatest of all Britain's advantages are her Imperial connections. The self-governing Dominions, India, and the Crown Colonies are each in their way of enormous value to Britain, and it is argued by such men as the late Lord Milner that the present and past value of the Empire to Britain is small compared to what would result from the adoption of a comprehensive policy of Empire development. I dislike making statements which cannot be objectively demonstrated, but if I may give a personal impression as one who is in constant touch with the various political currents in London it is that all three British parties, Conservative, Labour, and Liberal, are coming more and more definitely to the conclusion that Britain's only hope of surviving as a great commercial nation lies in her cultivation of economic relations with the rest of the Empire.

VI

We have not yet suggested any answer to the question of the causes of the relative industrial decline of Great Britain. A part of the decline, we said, was inevitable because it was due to the naturally more rapid growth of younger rivals. Other nations themselves, as they arrive at industrial maturity, must lessen their rate of growth. The avoidable part of Britain's decline is attributed to a variety of causes, the two most important being fiscal and social. The never-settled question of Free Trade *versus* Protection cannot be discussed here, much less can it be determined. Whatever be the intrinsic merits of the two systems it is very difficult for a country like Britain to change over from one to the other. The movement now seems to be towards Protection, and it will be

quickened if it proves evident that Empire development cannot be stimulated without preferential tariffs.

The greatest hindrance to Britain's efficiency and progress is, however, the chronic conflict between Capital and Labour. During the days of good trade that followed the Armistice there was a disastrous loss of working-days through strikes and lock-outs. Since the slump came every sign of trade improvement has been frightened away because it presented an opportunity for new demands and new disputes. Modern industrial enterprise cannot be carried on without a basis of confidence. It is impossible for any capitalist to have confidence in British industry. The strategy and tactics of the class war, with lightning strikes, sympathetic strikes, general strikes and the rest, have been so developed that at any moment an undertaking may be paralysed by new wage demands. I am not sympathising with the capitalists or criticising the trade unions, but I am stating a fact which it is impossible for any student to ignore.

The drift of affairs in Great Britain is most eloquently indicated by comparing wage-rates in the "unsheltered" and the "sheltered" industries, those that are directly exposed to foreign competition and those that are sheltered from it. The sheltered trades are parasitic upon the unsheltered. Unskilled workers command higher wages than skilled when the unions of the unskilled are in sheltered trades and can exert pressure on the community, while the unions in the unsheltered trades are powerless. I say "pressure on the community," because it is never the employers who are made to pay. The employers pass the costs on to the consumer, or they get a direct subsidy from the State. The vicious system cannot continue. The railways have long enjoyed "shelter," because foreign railways do not compete with British. If the railway companies put up passenger fares or freight rates, the public had no alternative but to pay them, except in so far as they could use motor transport

by road. Railway wages are from 100 to 150 per cent. higher than pre-war, while the wages of skilled engineers have increased only 45 per cent. But the railways are now feeling the effects of loss of traffic consequent on the decay of British industries, and high railway charges have been one of the contributory factors to that decay. We have lately seen how the Government have been forced to purchase peace in the coal-mining industry by the suicidal method of a subsidy.

All taxes have, in the long run, to be paid out of the profits of British trade. This article has shown how that trade has been declining. How taxes have been increasing may be seen in the latest *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*, published in 1924. Imperial expenditure in the financial year 1908-1909 was £152,292,395. In 1922-1923 it was £812,496,604. The rates received by local authorities in 1906-1907 totalled £59,557,199 ; in 1920-1921 they totalled £151,809,139. These years are not quoted because they are exceptional, but because they are the earliest and latest years included in the 15-year periods dealt with in the most recent *Statistical Abstract*. The public burdens on British industry are well-nigh insupportable, and the only chance of their being carried successfully lies in the creation of a new spirit of social unity and class co-operation. To create this new spirit an alternative to capitalism must be found. One will be suggested in a future article.

H. Somerville.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN THE IRISH SCHOOLS

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THE dominant occupation of the opening years spent by children in schoolwork is the acquisition of fluent accuracy in speech. From four to eight years is emphatically "the language age." Yet these issues must often arise: "What language? For what purpose?"—questions which never admit of a general answer. There is an easy solution in the really monolingual areas, for instance in England, and in large portions of France, Italy, Germany, Spain. In such regions there are no racial or cultural, or even practical demands for mastery of a second language. Things are not quite so simple in Brittany, in Catalonia, in the Trentino: and there is greater complexity in certain countries which are apparently monolingual, such as Norway and Greece, where two distinct types of a vernacular, the popular and the erudite, are in conflict. Belgium presents a quite different problem, for there one people, composed of two quite distinct races in specific areas and possessing two very sharply distinct languages, has to work on the practical educative basis that requires every citizen to acquire and be ready to use a second vernacular tongue. In that country there is no such issue as the recovery or the displacement of the home language, as far as primary education and the masses of the people are concerned.

Quite other is the contemporary position in Alsace-Lorraine. There the French Republic, since 1918, has set itself to alter the primary vernacular language of the whole people, a vernacular which is theirs by their whole racial origin and position. The German people which constitutes Alsace-Lorraine has been always German-speaking; since the first and second centuries of the

Christian era it has inhabited its present territory. To alter the vernacular there, to do it through the instrument of the French language used exclusively in school work with pupils from six to ten years of age, and used for all subjects by French teachers from France, teaching pupils who enter the schools knowing no French, is a vast undertaking. Quite apart from its morality, which is at best very dubious, the processes employed and the results attained will be of great interest to all educators. The Germans of Alsace-Lorraine, politically French, racially and culturally and linguistically German, have always desired the French language as a second vernacular. But a second vernacular is by no means a first vernacular: and for many reasons it is very likely that the avowed policy of rooting out German as that first vernacular and putting French in its place will fail.

Different from all the instances enumerated hitherto are the situations exemplified by French Canadian children within the borders of Ontario, and by German children in several areas of the United States of North America and of Brazil, of Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Russia. These are examples of compact areas of considerable size and population, held by expanding races which adhere to and maintain the language of their race. Attempts to subjugate that vernacular and to make another language dominant through the agency of the schools, have as a rule been vigorously resisted: the example of the Polish children of what was Prussian Poland down to 1918 will long be remembered in Eastern Europe.

The status of the Irish language in the schools of Ireland resembles none of these numerous instances of language problems in other lands. Within the past hundred years Irish was still the vernacular of the great mass of the real people of the country. From 1700 to 1825 English had come slowly and partially into use as a vernacular; but even in many areas of the Midlands it did not achieve supremacy till the middle of the last

century. This modification as to vernacular practice had become widespread before the " National Board of Education " was set up by the English Government in 1831, soon after Catholic Emancipation ; it was completed in the Famine Years, 1846-1850, when that Board was granted a Charter. The development of the power of that body was fatal to the national use of vernacular Irish : the national language was positively excluded from the National Schools from 1831 to 1876 or later. Had the curriculum of the schools reflected the plain fact that the mass of the people possessed Irish as a principal vernacular, and had it been content to secure English the position of a second or accessory vernacular, the task of the present generation would not exist. That task is the restoration of Irish as the main vernacular language. It is specifically distinct from the language problem in the schools of all other areas, from the situations in Greece, Norway, Catalonia, Brittany, Belgium, Ontario, and many other regions. We have to reconstitute a situation that was profoundly changed a couple of generations ago, and reverse a change that was made fully practicable only by the prolonged misuse of the primary schools of Ireland.

There can be no substantial difference of opinion as to this aim in Irish popular education, to be worked for now and henceforward. It is fortunate that there is already agreement that the basis of this restoration process must be fully provided for in the curriculum of the junior classes. The cultivation of the Irish language by definite class work must extend far beyond the age of eight or nine years : it is an essential subject at all stages of education in Ireland. But such subsequent study assumes that vernacular command has already been secured. That command is a very special thing. It is far from being secured by any such study as has been given in Irish schools to languages such as French or German. However thorough the study of foreign living languages may be in

any country, they are never dealt with, or secured, as vernaculars. All the " direct methods " in the world do not secure that result, and indeed that result should not be aimed at in the case of any foreign language. No such language deserves to be treated as a vernacular tongue ; for it is not, and cannot be, a real vernacular.

Vernacular languages—the plural form is used advisedly —can and should be acquired before children enter their tenth year. The early age is the language age. It is not for nothing that small children have fluent, perfected, effortless command of the vocal organs and of the sense of hearing by five years of age. Even more noteworthy is the plain fact that this command goes with a practically unlimited capacity for speech without fatigue, and for the countless acts of delicate adjustment of fine points both in speech and in hearing. It is far otherwise with the power of the hand, which matures to fine accuracy at a much later age than the sensory tissues involved in speech and in hearing. It is also well known that exacting precision must not be aimed at, in school tasks affecting eyesight, at an early age. Any competent school authority will banish at once all forms of delicate eyework and handwork before nine years of age, and be sparing in allowing them before the age of twelve.

The transfer of schoolwork from the language side, from oral practice in its various forms, to concentrate it on the manual and the visual side, has been a marked feature of all systems of early education devised since the days of Rousseau. Their development has been greatly influenced by modern naturalism and by materialistic evolutionism ; and these influences are often openly avowed. Oral expression is exclusively characteristic of man, of a spiritual power : it is eminently a subject for collective teaching in the class, under effective leadership of a real teacher, under organised cooperative conditions, to which all pupils in a class should conform. It is a training process which calls for real teaching by a real

teacher. It has little use for rigorous immobility, and less use for the fantastic requirement of " absolute and complete silence," for the practice of having " hours go by without a word." It has the crowning merit that oral processes of early education cannot well be patented, and that there is little opening for a vast provision of " materials " subject to commercial exploitation. Hence the old-fashioned and genuine educative processes of early language work, resting primarily on the spoken word and on collective classwork, secondarily on the schoolbook, are not much in favour among devisers of novelties. They prefer to overtax the hand and the eye ; to speak of the real teacher as a slave-driver ; to put masses of handwork and eyework in the teacher's place. Denunciation of the whole idea of true teaching is accompanied by invective against the whole idea of the class. Individual work alone is esteemed to be worthy of the name of education.

There is no doubt that delicate work in the use of the hand, and in the use of the eye, can be imposed at a very early age. The child acrobat can undoubtedly be trained as such ; but all civilised countries forbid it. The summer of 1925 saw the revelations about Chinese factories made by the Child Labour Inquiry Board at Shanghai (Cmd. 2442, 1925). " In the match factories, children of not more than five years of age were to be seen, *manipulating the boxes with incredible rapidity* " ; and it may be added that they were educated to ignore " playthings," to forget " the promise of sweets," to work in silence. Obviously, too, there was no room for the romance, the legend, the use of fancy and imagination. The ideals of the followers of Rousseau were realised, even to the point of dispensing with a teacher's guidance. As a deliverance in London, in July, 1925, phrased it : " To intervene and to help the child are natural tendencies. With a great effort you overcome the first, and with a still greater effort the second. The best teacher is one of whom the

children may say 'I do not know if my teacher can write.' "

It has been necessary to dwell on these characteristic elements of certain modern Systems and Plans, because they simply have to vanish when the essentially oral processes of the restoration and full practice of vernacular speech are the main aim of the school, as in Ireland. The tongue and the ear become the dominant sensory agents of education at "the language age," as they always should be. The teacher is a true teacher, a leader, a guide, a trainer: not a mere observer or a purveyor of quantities of manual "materials." The class system in its fullest extent is essential when oral work is the objective: individual procedure in silence is utterly contrary to it and utterly perverse. To think that children can be educated by "materials," by a bizarre thing called "auto-education," is unworthy even of the mere animal order of beings.

The teacher required for the giving of Irish as a fully vernacular language to all the children in our junior classes must have the vernacular that is to be taught. There can be abundantly good scientific teaching of Irish, after the reasoning processes begin to be serviceable in the class-room, given by "non-vernacular" teachers to "non-vernacular" pupils. These teachers can also be of distinct service in deepening and strengthening literary power in the case of young students who have secured Irish as a vernacular, at home or in the school. But in education, as well as in all else in the natural order, no one gives what one has not: and only the vernacular speaker can give to scholars that fluency and effortless spontaneity of utterance which is the vital and essential element in vernacular command of a language. In all such respects, it must be remembered that we are not now concerned with what a specially gifted and specially energetic teacher can achieve in special surroundings and with special learners. The whole country has to be

provided for, and the provision must be of a kind that is likely to be effective in circumstances of the quite ordinary kind, well known in most of the Irish regional areas.

Where are the vernacular teachers to be had? From the areas of Ireland that are as yet substantially Irish-speaking. None others can, broadly speaking, both aim at and reach this national goal. There is no denial of the fact that, down to two years ago, it was almost impossible to find a native Irish speaker within the student-body in the primary Training Colleges. Even if by any chance one did manage to get called to the training-course after passing a very English entrance examination by competition, still the chance that the pearl of great price, vernacular command, would be specially cultivated and encouraged was a very small chance indeed. There was no provision made for such utilisation of a most valuable possession.

The beginnings of a radical change in this respect are as yet immersed in a haze of low visibility. There is great need of offering a career as a teacher to the true speaker of Irish: it is the one career that needs to be really made the object of a "drive." Our national well-being would benefit greatly were one-half, and more than one-half, of the annual vacancies in our training colleges strictly reserved for native speakers; and were the rest of the vacancies specially made open to them by the assignment of high marks to real spoken Irish. Such a provision would now go but a short way to atone for the facts that, in practice, the Irish speaker was ousted from teaching in Ireland ever since 1831; and that this was done by a radically unfair bias in favour of English speech, methods, and books, as well as by English being the exclusive vehicular language.

Further, this career should be guaranteed from a very early age. From the national point of view, even mediocre natural quality in a boy or a girl of 14 years, if the Irish

vernacular command is present, makes that prospective teacher highly valuable. There should be a far greater measure of encouragement to become teachers, in their case, than to become anything else. The career is now, all things considered, a good one; and the national need of having all the possible "material," of this natural type, made full use of for national ends needs no demonstration.

The existence of a reasonable measure of teaching ability can well be tested by two or three months' actual trial in an infant school or school department, at the earliest time possible. There is no reason why this test should not be made within the fifteenth year of the candidate's age; and there would be no need to provide more than a month of specialised instruction for it. Both boys and girls of that age are, in vast numbers, born teachers and like the work in itself. "The powers of lads are very great," wrote one experienced observer over a century ago, relative to Ireland, "and these powers may be brought into action to good purpose: their love of command and of *communication*, when thoroughly investigated and applied to practice, may be made subservient to very commendable purposes." The modern organisations of boy-life have fully borne out this view, and proved their capacity as trainers and leaders. It can be applied as fully to the vernacular language as to exploration on the hillside and on the seashore. Indeed there is no reason why the Junior Assistant Master should not exist in Irish popular schools, as well as the Junior Assistant Mistress; and with a guaranteed career on the basis of efficient early language work in the junior or infant classes, under the supervision of the principal teacher, there should be no lack of recruits. Such early apprenticeship has every promise, in the special circumstances, of being quite effective.

These special circumstances are worthy of note. For vernacular habituation any rigorous or precise and formal

sequence of class work would be quite out of place at the age period before the ninth year. Constant variety of presentation is alone necessary. Play occupations are quite as valuable as ordinary class processes : a group in the open air is even better than a group in a room. " Materials " of all kinds can be used as the mere instruments of the linguistic aim : this is their true position, evidenced in the original object lessons as used by Pestalozzi. Variety and rapid alternations of such material will be a benefit, not a drawback. " Connections " of a systematic kind should not be imposed on either the teacher or the learners : the latter have not reached the point where reasoning effectively leavens the educative process : and oral practice in a language does not depend on that regulation and ordering of subject matter which is appropriate at ten years of age, and from that stage becomes more and more necessary in the teacher. Leadership in a boy or girl finds its best outlet in language work of the oral and conversational type, using pictorial, manual, and recreative material as the occasion of collective action in the practice of speech.

The planning of appropriate methods in this field of education, where the restoration of the vernacular is the aim, offers many features of special interest. Work of that precise type has not been essayed elsewhere. As a rule, devices for infant classes have their ends in the occupation itself : here, all the processes tend necessarily to spontaneous and effortless self-expression. At the same time, all true education must progressively combine effort with mere interest : it is the effort that ennobles and makes worthily human. That element of effort is found in the fact that the Irish language will have to be acquired, and thoroughly acquired, as a vernacular, within the school and within the school-hours. This is the plain fact as regards all areas not effectively Irish-speaking : and " effectively " means devotedly. The districts where homes are Irish-speaking without being Irish-hearted, and

there are not a few of these, are not able to give the vernacular habit with anything like the needed staying quality.

Can the language be thus given, in and through the school, as a real vernacular? There is an abundance of historical evidence for an affirmative answer. It was in this way, almost entirely, that the English vernacular was enabled to replace the Irish tongue in Irish-speaking Ireland. Over large portions of the country this process of displacement developed from 1700 A.D. onwards, acting through local schools. It was effective above all from 1830 to 1850, and these twenty years were the years that really counted. The reversal of process is equally feasible, and that without any draft on the vernacular practice of the home. In the same way the mediaeval local schools, which were extremely numerous and effective in proportion to the population, made Latin a real vernacular in Europe, the flexible, popular, adaptable Latin that preceded the Renaissance, that was the true descendant of the genuine speech of the Roman people rather than of a Hellenised literary caste. Even that caste furnishes proof; for beyond question it acquired, in the more select Roman schools, the Greek tongue as a true vernacular. That "foreign vernacular" was always taught, before Latin, in the Roman schools of the governing classes. The Roman noble took the Greek vernacular with him, when at the age of 14-18 years he proceeded to the Greek Universities, to Athens, Rhodes, Antioch, Alexandria. It was acquired, like mediaeval Latin, like English in the popular schools of Ireland, as a real vernacular, in and by the school. It was acquired by habituation, by oral exercise, not by the grammar. "I never 'saw' grammar under a special teacher. I know not the formal differences and variations of verbs and nouns. By practice alone I have acquired these forms, and I speak by imitation of ancient and modern verse and prose." So wrote the Blessed Joannes Dominicus,

in the year 1400, during his notable controversy with Coluccio Salutato, Chancellor of the Republic of Florence, and leader of the Renaissance movement. He spoke, and spoke of, the true vernacular Latin, always a modern language in Mediaeval Europe, always got in the schools of the people. It was so acquired, in a splendidly effective way, in the Celtic Schools of Modern Ireland down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The popular schools can give and can restore our native language. They can do it even without positive aid from the home.

The history of the acquirement of a vernacular, as practised in Italy, in Mediaeval Europe, in Greece itself, has another lesson of method for us, one of great significance. The use of poetry, as far as possible, has marked advantages over the use of prose for all the more regular forms of class exercises. Greek prose was not used in the schools of Greece until the age of decadence was reached. The Latin of the Mediaeval Schools was acquired almost exclusively from verse. The schools of Classical Rome always started with Greek poetry. Abundance of verse forms for the infant school is therefore an essential requisite for an advance in the acquisition of spoken Irish.

This verse must not stand alone. The whole of Greek education and the whole of mediaeval education saw an inseparable alliance of verse and music. The one was never learned but in and with and through the other. It is not without profound reason that universal mediaeval usage termed the schools of the people song schools, and there is significance in the degradation reached during the eighteenth century in England, when music had disappeared from the classroom, and when "the village teacher taught his *noisy* school." That was the worst period in the whole history of popular education. The song usage was carried over, in the Middle Ages, from the teaching of the vernacular to the teaching of Latin, and it served to make Latin a really popular and effective

language. The vast collections of Mediaeval Latin poetry, all set to music, have only slowly been unveiled by specialist research during the past fifty years : they were thrust into obscurity by the artificial standards of taste set up during the Renaissance.

With profoundly beneficial results both to the Irish language and to Irish music as living elements in popular Gaelic culture, this alliance of Irish music and the teaching of our language, especially in the infant and junior classes throughout the country, could be effected without delay. The musical side has been far too much neglected in all elementary teaching of Irish. Indoors and out of doors at school, all the various forms of national music should be worked in unison with suitable poetry. The lamentation note, given prominence by Moore and his followers, ought to be absolutely denied the right of entry here. There is an abundance of joyous music available. The march airs are plentiful : lilting melodies, ballad airs, and a vast profusion of dance airs present themselves, and call for Irish words in the service of our vernacular language and in the service of childhood in Ireland. In all this there are many fields for enterprise. With our distinctive purpose emerges a wide range of activity in the exploration of initia teaching methods. Resting on a true basis in the union of music and speech, these processes will have no need to bedeck themselves with the tawdry and false philosophies that have vexed education since the appearance of Rousseau, will have no need to derive from alien sources, but can seek inspiration in the school practice of the Ages of Faith and of the Europe that once was a unit in the cause of Christian and National Education.

T. Corcoran, S.J.

FACT AND LEGEND IN HAGIOGRAPHY [1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

QUITE a number of years ago when a lively correspondence was going on in *The Times* over some controverted medieval legend, the late Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne, the poet, plunged into the fray, prefacing his remarks with a jibe at Roman ecclesiastics who "were ignorant even of their own mythology." I remember the phrase well, for I had myself contributed to the discussion and was presumably one of the ecclesiastics thus referred to. Mythology is not a complimentary term, but so far as its etymological meaning is concerned, nobody can altogether quarrel with its use. It would be idle to deny that there is a good deal which is "mythical" in the Lives of the Saints, even as they are made known to us through the Breviary and the Martyrologium. But the sting of Swinburne's taunt lies of course in the implication that this atmosphere of fable is part of the Catholic system, that the Church patronises and encourages it, making profit out of the credulity which thus becomes a virtue in her faithful children. There is sufficient plausibility about the charge to render it mischievous, especially where public opinion is critical and hostile to Catholicism. It has, moreover, been insidiously exploited by many rationalists, such, to take

[1] *Martyrologium Romanum, prima post typicam editio, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Benedicto Papa XV., adprobata, Sacrae Rituum Congregationis curis impressa.* Romæ: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. 1922 (*sic*). pp. cxx, 566.

A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints by the Right Rev. F. G. Holweck. St. Louis and London: B. Herder. 1924. pp. xxx, 1054.

"La Correction du Martyrologe Romain" par Dom Henri Quentin, O.S.B. in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1924, Vol. xlii, pp. 387–406.

one example, as M. "Saintyves," [1] and the Catholic apologist must often have sighed for the day when it will be in our power to point to effective action taken by the Holy See to vindicate historical truth and purge our service-books of the myths which now encumber them.

The publication in 1923-4 of a revised edition of the Martyrologium Romanum might naturally have seemed to provide an excellent occasion for a thorough overhauling of the substance of the historical notices contained in it. No serious attempt at correction had been made since the days of Baronius. A few changes had been introduced, but they were almost all trivial in character, and though there had been many additions, necessitated by the not inconsiderable number of canonizations which had taken place in the course of three centuries, advantage had not been taken of this for the omission or curtailment of legendary material already in place. When, therefore, the rumour circulated that the pains spent upon the new Martyrology had been meticulous and that the changes were numerous, one was led to hope that a really critical revision might be expected, and that this in turn would serve as a point of departure for substantial modifications in the breviary lessons and the whole ecclesiastical calendar. For those who shared these anticipations the disappointment was great when the text of the "prima post typicam editio" came at last into their hands.[2] To all practical intents and purposes the substance of the elogia in the old Martyrologium remains absolutely unchanged. An immense number of small verbal alterations have been introduced—not always for the better in the opinion of competent judges of latinity. The order

[1] See his book *Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux* and the series of other volumes of the same type with which he has followed it up.

[2] Although the title page is dated 1922 and the "decretum approbans" purports to have been signed on January 11, 1922, eleven days before the death of Pope Benedict XV, the book was not procurable until the early months of 1924. The text of the volume also contains a reference to the decree published in June, 1922, by which Pope Pius XI declared St. Ignatius Loyola the patron of all retreats.

of the announcements has repeatedly been modified in accordance with a rather complicated system of precedence, and some attempt has been made to secure greater accuracy in the geographical indications which occur at the beginning of so many of the notices. But when we have said this, we have said all. Of competent historical criticism there is no trace. Out of a total of from 1500 to 1800 notices which have been modified in the new edition[1] the vast majority show only verbal changes which are quite insignificant in themselves. Where we formerly found "sub Sapore rege Persarum," we now read "sub rege Persarum Sapore"; where formerly stood "ab hœrcticis occisi sunt," there is now substituted "ab hœreticis sunt occisi"; in place of "gloria confessionis illustris," the text now prints "confessionis gloria conspicui." Clearly, not very much has been gained by this sort of revision. It may be interesting, by way of specimen, to take one example in which the whole entry is affected. The elogium of the African martyr, St. Fabius, on July 31, will serve as well as another :—

Editio Typica, 1914.	Editio, 1922.
Cæsareæ, passio beati Fabii martyris, qui cum ferre vexilla præsidalia recusaret, primum diebus aliquot in carcerem trusus, deinde interrogatus semel et iterum, cum in confessione Christi perduraret, mox a judice capitali sententia condemnatur.	Cæsareæ, in Mauritania, passio beati Fabii martyris, qui cum ferre vexilla præsidalia recusaret, primo in carcerem trusus est, ibique diebus aliquot detentus ; deinde, cum in confessione Christi, interrogatus semel et iterum, immobilis perduraret, sententia capitali a judice condemnatur.

St. Fabian is a martyr whose commemoration can be traced back to the martyrologies of the ninth century, and its wording has a venerable tradition behind it. There

[1] The calculation is that of Dom Quentin. He has counted 149 elogia in January which have in some way been altered and 142 in February. Some of them involve a resetting of the whole entry ; others, the vast majority, affect only a word or two. See *Analecta Bollandiana*, xlii, p. 392.

is nothing to quarrel with in the latinity of the revised entry, but on the other hand not much has been gained, and one cannot help asking whether merely for the sake of a slight improvement in the style or in the balance of the sentence, it is worth while to sacrifice anything of the link with the past. The meaning, as the notice stood in 1914, was in any case perfectly plain. On the other hand the insertion of the geographical indication " in Mauretania " may certainly be regarded as a gain, for there were at least four well-known cities named Cæsaræa, situated in different parts of the Roman empire, and we ought to be told which is meant. But even this effort after greater geographical accuracy, which may rightly be claimed as a merit in the revised edition, has been very unequally applied. Seeing, no doubt, that not everyone is aware that in Carolingian documents Scotia commonly means Ireland the substitution in the case of the notice of St. Bridget (Feb.1) of " apud Kildariam, in Hibernia" for the older " in Scotia " will meet the approval of all critics. But when we consider the feelings of those who have to read or chant the martyrologium aloud, I am not satisfied that the additions now made to the elogia of St. Fintan, St. Brendan and some other Irish saints will be equally popular. In the first of these " in Scotia " has been replaced by " in monasterio Cluain-ednechensi in Hibernia " ; in the second the simple announcement " in Scotia sancti Brendani abbatis " has now developed into " in monasterio Enachduinensi in Hibernia, transitus sancti Brendani, presbyteri et Clonfertensis abbatis." By the way, why not " Cluain-fertensis," in view of the " Cluain-ednechensis " just above ? But if this fashion were to spread to Wales, we certainly should all be in despair. Happily there has been no attempt to apply the principle uniformly all round. St. Hugh of Lincoln, for example, died in Holborn, London, on the evening of November 16, 1200. This is attested by contemporary documents beyond all possible cavil, but " in Britannia " is the only

indication furnished by the new Martyrologium as to the place of his demise; and the same not very accurate phrase "in Britannia" is used for half-a-dozen English saints whose history is known with equal certainty. The revisers have undoubtedly done well to cancel, on April 3, the very erroneous description "in Anglia" formerly assigned to St. Burgondofara (Sainte Fare). They have very properly restored her to "Eboriacum"[1] (the present Faremoutiers) in the diocese of Meaux. But they have not removed all similar blunders, and we are still told under June 6 that SS. Amantius and Alexander belong to "Noviodunum in Galliis" (Noyon in France) instead of to Nyon in Switzerland, also that the martyrs Zoellus, Servilius and companions (May 24) are saints of Istria, instead of Syria to which the group unquestionably belong.[2] So again I cannot think that the revisers have been well-advised in prefixing "Elviae in *Anglia*" to their notice of St. Asaph (May 1). In this case "in Britannia" would have been quite appropriate, as also in that of St. Winefride (November 3), but no one who is not a stranger to these shores would describe Welsh towns as being "in England."

I should hardly venture to pass these strictures upon a liturgical document issued officially if it were not that I had before me the very outspoken article of Dom Quentin, which has since been summarized in a more popular form by one of his colleagues in *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques* (June, 1925), and if I had not also been credibly informed that the publication of Dom Quentin's paper was sanctioned and even encouraged by the highest ecclesiastical authority. No living scholar has a better right to pass judgment upon all works of this character than the distinguished author of *Les Martyrologes*

[1] It is difficult to understand how this ridiculous blunder arose. One can only conjecture that the fact that Bede speaks of her and is (erroneously) supposed to have written her life, led to Eboriacum being mistaken for Eboracum (York) which is, of course, in England.

[2] See Delehaye in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1899, xviii, 385.

historiques. Moreover, if rumour speaks truly, Dom Quentin has now been invited to serve upon a commission which is to carry through a real revision of the Martyrologium such as modern critical methods demand. Perhaps something of this is foreshadowed in the closing words of the article to which I allude. After noting that the name of the reigning pontiff is rather conspicuously absent from the title page of the Martyrologium so lately issued, Dom Quentin goes on :—

> Perhaps this may be regarded as ground for hope. Under a Pope so enlightened as His Holiness Pius XI. it is not impossible that this *prima post typicam*, instead of blocking the way or postponing a really serious and critical revision of the Roman Martyrology, may, on the contrary, render such an undertaking more likely and bring its realisation nearer to us."

But I have rather drifted away from the main purpose of this article, which is to discuss the mythical element still so conspicuous in the *prima post typicam* prepared under Benedict XV. To anyone who is interested in that book and who wishes to test its shortcomings for himself I would recommend a very useful volume lately compiled by a well-known American prelate under the title of *A Biographical Dictionary of Saints.* For the reader who is not a specialist the particular merit of this work consists in the amplitude of its range. It certainly provides by far the fullest general list of " Saints " which has ever been brought together, including a large number of orientals practically unknown in the western Church. As must inevitably happen in a work of this kind, there is a good deal of uncertainty as to the just title to veneration, and even as to the very existence of many of those whose names are here enrolled. There are bound to be numerous instances of duplication and confusion, accidental omissions, inconsistencies of spelling, errors of transcription or identification, and so forth. The claims of many of these candidates for hagiographical recognition are vague and often insufficiently attested. No one who

knows anything of the Irish martyrologies, for example, or of the works of O'Hanlon, Gould and Fisher, or even the more critical researches of Dr. C. Plummer, can fail to realise the absolute impossibility of providing any final and complete list of those who deserve to be recognised as "Saints."[1] But we can at least say that Mgr. Holweck provides a fuller catalogue than anyone else, and that he almost invariably gives some hint of the source from which his information is derived. No doubt the source thus indicated is in many cases far from satisfactory. Nothing more uncritical can well be imagined—Mgr. Holweck himself owns as much—than the collection of saints' lives known as the *Petits Bollandistes*, a work which, of course, has no connexion, save for its name, with the great Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*. Hence the appearance of the reference "P. B." at the foot of so many of the biographical notices in Holweck cannot fail to arouse serious misgivings—misgivings which are sometimes fully justified. Let me take an example or two among many.

In accordance with his usual practice Mgr. Holweck devotes a paragraph to St. Genulf or Genou, who is described as bishop of Cahors in the third century. No hint is given that the scanty details of his career are unreliable,[2] but anyone who will consult Mgr. Duchesne's *Fastes épiscopaux*[3] will find convincing reasons for rejecting the tale told at length in "P. B." Very similar is the case of St. Vincentianus, or Viance. The story summarised by Holweck on the faith of the "P. B." has been shown by Bruno Krusch and W. Levison to be quite untrustworthy.[4] We have no good evidence that such a person

[1] *Cf.* Père Delehaye's article "Sanctus" in the *Analecta Bollandiana* (1909), vol. xxviii, pp. 145-200.

[2] Mgr. Holweck has complicated the matter by a reference to Rom. Mart. 17 January. This should really be 17 June and belongs to St. Gundulphus, who is apparently a different person altogether.

[3] Vol. ii, pp. 126-128.

[4] See Krusch in the *Neues Archiv*, xviii, 561, and the introduction to the Life of St. Vincentianus in the *M. G. H., SS. Rerum Meroving. V.*

ever existed. So again it is certain that Mgr. Holweck has been a great deal too confiding in his acceptance of the "Acts" of St. Sarbellus (or Scharbil) and St. Barsimœus (or Barsamja), though here it is not the *Petits Bollandistes* but the Roman Martyrology itself which seems to be to blame. "At Edessa in Syria," it tells us on January 29, "of the holy martyrs Sarbellus and Barbea his sister, who were baptized by the Blessed Barsimæus, the bishop, and were crowned with martyrdom under Lysias the governor in the persecution of Trajan." A similar notice of St. Barsimæus himself is inserted on the following day. Now although these two elogia are based upon Syriac documents of a relatively early period, M. Rubens Duval has proved that the data they furnish are mutually inconsistent and are, in any case, quite irreconcilable with the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98 to 117). He believes the story to be in substance a mere work of fiction founded upon the Acts of Habib, a martyr who perished by fire about the year 322, and who, unlike Barsamja and Scharbil, is duly commemorated in the ancient Syriac martyr-list compiled in the closing years of the fourth century.[1]

Again Mgr. Holweck will often surprise such of his readers as know the character of the sources relied upon by the extreme definiteness with which he chronicles the facts of remote history, especially in the case of the early Celtic saints. We learn from him, for example, that "St. Itha or Mida was born in Co. Waterford in 480 and died on 15 January, 569," or that St. Cronan of Roscrea "died at Senruys 28 April, 626,"[2] or that St. David "died at Menevia 1 March, 589, not 544," or that St. Samson "visited King Childebert in Paris in 553 and was nominated first bishop of Dol in 554." It would be difficult perhaps

[1] See Rubens Duval in the *Journal Asiatique* 8th Series, Vol. xiv, pp. 40-58.

[2] Some inconsistency in the spelling of Irish names is certainly very pardonable, but why should Mgr. Holweck tell us that St. Cronan established a community at "Sean-Ross" and six lines further on that he died at "Senruys"? Surely these two variants designate the same place.

to prove the contrary of any of those statements, but they certainly are not reliable and they rather give the impression that the writer has not had time to do more than copy the second or third hand authorities which were most accessible, without discriminating much between those which were likely to be trustworthy and those which were otherwise.

At the same time I should be sorry to seem in any way to disparage this *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, which, I repeat, is a work of very great practical utility and which must be the fruit of immense labour. To get it completed at all in reasonable time involved taking risks of confusion or error, and many of these flaws will be corrected, I doubt not, in a future edition. Moreover, the book is by no means so uncritical as a first general inpression might suggest. In many cases the references given to such works as the *Analecta Bollandiana*, the *Martyrologien* of Achelis, the hagiographical treatises of Père Delehaye or the *Kirchliches Handlexikon*[1] edited by Buchberger, show that Mgr. Holweck has been genuinely anxious to put his readers on their guard and to exclude fabulous history. A comparison of the elogia of certain saints in the Roman Martyrology with the account of the same saints furnished by Holweck would alone suffice to demonstrate that in quite a surprising number of cases the Martyrologium notice is mythical and that the American scholar has called attention to the fact. Let us take, for example, St. Trophimus of Arles. In the Martyrologium on December 29th we read of him :—

> At Arles, the birthday of St. Trophimus, of whom St. Paul maketh mention when writing to Timothy. He was ordained bishop by that Apostle, and was first sent to the aforesaid city to

[1] How does Mgr. Holweck come to say (Foreword, p. ii) in reference to the *Kirchliches Handlexikon* that " its hagiographical articles are, without exception, written by eminent hagiologists of the Benedictine Abbey of Emaus, Prague " ? Seeing that all the articles are signed with initials and that a key to these initials is provided, it is easy to convince oneself that the statement is altogether erroneous. Let Mgr. Holweck look, for example, at the dozen short biographies of saints named Francis.

preach the gospel of Christ, and from that fount, as Pope Zosimus writeth, all France received the streams of faith.

As a commentary upon this we find in Holweck an account of two entirely different St. Trophimuses, one the disciple of St. Paul, the other the bishop of Arles. Mgr. Holweck is no doubt absolutely justified in stating with regard to the former that "the Rom. Mart. confounds him with the homonymous bishop of Arles," and also right in conjecturing that the bishop of Arles was sent from Rome about the year 240, and consequently a full century later than the possible lifetime of St. Paul's disciple. Similarly when the Martyrologium (December 17) describes Lazarus whom our Saviour raised from the dead as bishop of Marseilles, Mgr. Holweck does not hesitate to tell us that "the legend that Lazarus and his companions came to Marseilles and evangelized the [*sic*] Provence, is an apocryphal invention of the 11th or 12th century." Even more noteworthy is the account of St. Denis which still occupies the first place in our recently revised Martyrologium on October 9 :—

> At Paris the birthday of the holy martyrs Denis the Areopagite bishop, Rusticus, priest, and Eleutherius, deacon ; whereof Denis, being baptized by Paul the Apostle, was ordained first bishop of the Athenians ; then, coming to Rome, he was sent to preach in France by blessed Clement the Roman Pontiff and made his way to the city aforesaid. There, when he had faithfully discharged for some years the task imposed upon him, he at length achieved martyrdom, being put to the sword with his companions by the prefect Fescenninus, after manifold most grievous torments.

Once more Mgr. Holweck provides two separate notices —one devoted to the Dionysius, a member of the council of the Areopagus, who was converted by St. Paul (Acts, xvii, 34) ; the other to St. Denis, bishop of Paris. He tells us that "Abbot Hiduin [*sic*],[1] who in 825 forged the Acts of the Patron of his abbey, confounded him with St. Dionysius the Arcopagite, as the Roman Breviary and

[1] The name is correctly printed Hilduin a little higher up on the same page.

the Greek Menœa still do." As students of ecclesiastical history will remember, the rectification of these and a number of similar fictions by Mgr. Duchesne in his *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* caused an immense outcry in France some years ago. It is a great gain to find sound critical views emphasized in such popular works as the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and this Biographical Dictionary of Mgr. Holweck. The distressing part is the fact that, in spite of the more critical attitude of mind which now prevails everywhere, the text of our official service-books still perpetuates the myths current among mediaeval chroniclers a thousand years ago.

Another type of legend to which Mgr. Holweck has fearlessly done justice is that which seems to have been suggested by the story of the mother of the Machabees, who themselves are commemorated in the Martyrologium on August 1. The long notice of St. Symphorosa and her seven sons on July 18 and that of the sons of St. Felicitas on July 10 need not be extracted here. A shorter separate notice of St. Felicitas herself on November 23 simply tells us : " At Rome of St. Felicitas, the mother of seven sons, martyrs, who, after them, was beheaded for Christ at the command of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus." In both these cases Mgr. Holweck speaks quite plainly. Of St. Felicitas he tells us :—

> The old Roman tradition venerated Felicitas and her sons (names unknown) 23 November, independently of the seven martyrs of 10 July, who were not brothers and died under Aurelius ; at a later time they were identified with the sons of Felicitas. The martyrs of 10 July (Januarius etc.) stand in no relation to St. Felicitas.

Similarly he declares in the case of St. Symphorosa :—

> The " Acts " are unreliable and interpolated, an adaptation of the story of the Maccabean mother and her seven sons or of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The seven martyrs were neither brothers, nor sons of Symphorosa. . . . The names in the Acts being different from the names in the Hieronymianum, the story appears to be a Christian romance.

It deserves to be noted that the "Seven Sleepers" themselves also have a commemoration under that name in the Roman Martyrology (July 27), but the details of their story—how they were walled up by the persecutor, fell asleep and were eventually awakened four hundred years later—are not given. One of the most valuable features of Mgr. Holweck's Dictionary is the information it furnishes—information which can only have been obtained at the cost of great labour and an immense amount of correspondence—regarding the present local cultus of the saints of whom he treats. Assuming the correctness of the data provided, it is certainly rather astonishing to learn that "to-day it [the feast of the Seven Sleepers] is kept at Augsburg on 27 June, at Cologne 27 July (Sarum Brev.[1]), at Smyrna (Lat.) 27 July, dp." The more one investigates the by-ways of hagiology, especially in its relation to local observances, the more surprising are the revelations as to the feasts which, on the plea of immemorial custom, are still retained in diocesan calendars in spite of the curtailments which were imposed ten years ago.

It would be possible to extend this catalogue of mythical legends almost indefinitely. There is hardly a day on which the notices in the Roman Martyrology would not supply examples. They are by no means all of one type. Almost everyone has heard of the announcement in the Martyrologium for November 27 which runs in these terms:—"In the Indies, bordering upon Persia, of SS. Barlaam and Josaphat, of whose wondrous deeds St. John Damascene has written." In this case, as Mgr. Holweck rightly points out "these two 'saints' are the products of fancy . . . . . the story is an adaptation of the life of Buddha and other Buddhist legends to Christian ideas." There is still some little obscurity as to the process by

[1] This mention of the "Sarum Brev." is very puzzling. Surely the Sarum Breviary can tell us nothing about the observance of the feast of the Seven Sleepers in Cologne at the present day. The extreme compression which Mgr. Holweck has found necessary seems to have produced a good many such enigmas.

which this eastern romance came ultimately to be incorporated by Baronius into a western service book; but the fact enables the rationalist to jeer at what he describes as the "canonization of Buddha" by the Church of Rome. Happily there seems in this case to be no trace anywhere of liturgical cultus. Then there are the imaginary saints who have found their way into our catalogue through the misinterpretation of numbers. The most familiar example is that of the 83 martyrs of Amiternum. Their festival is kept, it seems, every year at Aquila as a double, but they have been evolved out of the fact that a certain Victorinus was martyred at Amiternum beside the 83rd milestone on the Via Salaria. Dom Quentin, Père Delehaye and the non-Catholic Achelis have carefully investigated the facts and are unanimous in stating that the notice in the Martyrologium for July 24 "at Amiternum the passion of eighty-three holy soldiers" can have no other origin.[1] Holweck, following Achelis, avers that "milestones have become martyrs" in the case of no less than seven different entries in the ancient Martyrologium Hieronymianum.

But perhaps no more striking illustration can be found of the extent to which the Church's roll of honour has been invaded by myth than that which results from an investigation of the Acts of the Virgin Martyrs most illustrious in the early Church. In the Litany of the Saints, which is, of course, a liturgical document of venerable antiquity, six Virgin Martyrs are commemorated —SS. Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cæcilia, Catharine and Anastasia. Looking up these names in Mgr. Holweck's Dictionary we obtain the following information. Of St. Agatha he says: "Historical certitude is attached merely to the fact of her martyrdom and of her public veneration. Neither her Greek nor her Latin Acts can lay any claim to historical credibility." Of St. Lucy he tells us: "Her

[1] See Quentin, *Martyrologes*, pp. 337 and 573; Delehaye, *Origines du culte des Martyrs* p. 357; Achelis, *Acta Nerei et Achillei* p. 55, and *Martyrologien*, p. 163.

existence is established and her cult very ancient, but her Acts are a commonplace romance, founded, perhaps, on a few facts." Upon St. Agnes his comment is: "The Acts, in the form handed down to us, are certainly spurious. Not even the time of her death can be determined with any degree of certainty. It is also uncertain whether she died through fire or the sword." St. Cæcilia is in no better position: "These Acts, however, have no historical value. They are a pious romance, and, in a striking manner, resemble the apocryphal (Gnostic) Acts of St. Thomas." Of Catharine and her wheel we read: "Only the simple fact of the presence of her relics in the church of the monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai is historically established; all the rest is pure fiction." Finally, it is stated that "nothing is known of Anastasia except the name, her current story is purely fictitious, also her connexion with St. Chrysogonus." This is surely rather a startling indictment, but Mgr. Holweck in each case has done no more than echo the conclusions at which all sober critical scholars, both Catholic and non-Catholic, have now arrived.

Such considerations as the above must inevitably create distrust of all the historical statements in the Martyrologium which are not confirmed by independent evidence. When we read there of St. Antiochus on July 15 that "milk flowed forth from him in place of blood," or on August 16th that St. Arsacius "by prayer slew a huge dragon," or on May 6 that St. John Damascene had his hand cut off, but "had it restored to him again whole and well," the most docile sons of the Church will hardly be able to repress a certain movement of incredulity. This, I venture to submit, is not a healthy attitude towards documents which are meant to inspire respect and devotion. The only remedy seems to lie in that critical revision by competent scholars which we have reason to believe is contemplated by the erudite Pontiff who now occupies the chair of St. Peter.

HERBERT THURSTON.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXXI—The Passing of the Old Order

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

For the author of this poem see Nos. VIII and X of this series. It is addressed to Art son of Fear Dorcha, one of the Magennises of Iveagh, Co. Down, who claimed descent, through Irial (§15) son of Conall Cearnach, from Rudhraighe (§17), ancestor of most of the Ultonian heroes, and so from the mythical Séadna (§18), King of Ireland A.M. 3843 according to the Four Masters. The subject is the downfall of the poetic order, the common theme of the early seventeenth century.

The text is from 23D4 and 23L17 (R.I.A.). For transcripts I have to thank Prof. T. F. O'Rahilly. I have normalized the spelling.

Fear Flatha O Gnímh cct.

1. Mairg do-chuaidh re ceird ndúthchais :
rug ar Bhanbha mbarrúrthais
nach dualghas athar is fhearr
i n-achadh fhuarghlas Eireann.

2. Do héirgheadh dhóibh thuaidh is teas
nach bí ar breith don ord éigeas
labhairt ar oigdhe a n-aithreadh :
malairt oibre ionnsaighthear.

3. Ní sníthe snátha an fheasa,
ní leanta craobh choibhneasa,
gréas duan ní déanta d'fhighe,
luadh dréachta ní dlighfidhe.

4. An céidfhear do-chuaidh re dán,
mairg dó nach dearna a chlaochládh :
neamhshuthain an céim ro char :
béim bhar n-ealathain d'ollamh.

5. Dursan nár mhúin oide an fhis
riadh stéad nó stiúradh loingis,
nó snaidhm chéacht i ndeaghaidh damh,
d'fhearaibh na ndréacht do dhéanamh.

6. Mairg d'ollamh dá nárbh aithnidh
ceard[1] nábudh cúis iomaithbhir,
d'uaim chláraidh, do dheilbh dhabhcha,
sul tárraidh feidhm foghlamtha.

7. Ní fhuighthe ar uaim na rithlearg
umhla ó fhearaibh ísilcheard ;
mon-uar gan aoibh na moghadh
'gan chaoir shuadh ar shaothrughadh.

8. Tairnig onóir na héigse,
teasta cion an choimhéidse,
'na gcriadhairibh oir gurbh fhearr
do sgoil fhiadhoirir Eireann.

9. Ná gabhaid chuca seach cách
dísbeagadh a ndréacht neamhghnáth :
ní dóibh a-bháin do-bhearair
táir, acht don ghlóir Ghaoidhealaigh.

10. Ní dá n-oirchiseacht d'fhéin Ghall
chaomhnaid séada sluagh bhFréamhann ;
an deaghshlógh nach dáil a gcrodh,
dáibh is neamhlón do-níothar.

11. Do dhul a-mudha don mhaoin,
do bhuain a n-ionnmhais d'aontaoibh
don mhacraidh bheannghairthe Bhreagh,
bacthair dearlaighthe dhíbhsean.

12. Do thrághadh a dtonn meanma,
do cheilt chroidheadh[2] n-aitheardha
fá fhéin Bhreagh na mbrat srólltais,
do bhac cean is chomórtais—

13. Do mhionughudh na mac ríogh,
cuirthear na duana i ndimbríogh,
d'fholach ceirt na ríogh reampa,
do cheilt na ngníomh nGaoidhealta.

[1] ceird MSS. [2] cosc croidheacht D.

14. Gaoidhil uirre ó do hagradh,
cia haca is fhearr caradradh,
nó is lia do fhóir an éigse,
cia dán cóir a coimhéidse ?

15. O rug éigeantas ortha,
déanta don druing fhoghlamtha
an tslighe do-roinne riamh
i gcoinne fhine Irial.

16. O's aca tar fhéin mBanbha
tarla tús na healadhna—
síol Róigh na sliomaitreabh sean—
tiomaintear dhóibh a deireadh.

17. Eigean[1] dóibh, dá dhearbhadh sin,
dá chéad déag draoi do dhraoithibh,
do dhíoth chothroim eacht oile,
teacht go rochloinn Rudhraighe.

18. Triall isan dturus gcéadna
do sgolaibh fhóid fhinnShéadna[2]
go mac Fir Dhorcha dlighthir,
ór ligh ortha d'éilighthibh.

19. Do léigeadh breith an bháire
go heisiomal aonláimhe,
gurb é féithleann Chláir Chobha
dáibh is éincheann urrumha.

20. Mág Aonghusa is é thargaidh
sgol Teamhrach do theasargain :
re[3] buige nó re[3] cruas gcáigh
chuige do-cuas dá gcongbháil.

21. Mar do-gheibh geall gach aoinfhir
feadh cruais sleachta seanGhaoidhil,
do bhiadh barr ar fhéile ag Art,
an tann budh déine an daonnacht.

[1] Eigin MSS. [2] fhinneana D, fhinnéadna L. [3] le L.

22. Mac Fir Dhorcha ag dáil a shéad,
seoid cháich dá gcur i gcoimhéad ;
cách ag congbháil an taigidh,
bláth an domhnáin dearlaigidh.

23. Oiread ar imthigh d'fhéile
a croidhibh chlann saoirChréidhe,
i n-aonchroidhe ag Art do an,
tar smacht laochraidhe Lundan.

24. Rug ar aithris Chon na gcleas
do thigh Airt an t-ord éigeas
dóigh a-nú agus[1] a-nallain
do chrú Róigh do-rónamair.
Mairg.

[1] is MSS.

Translatin

1. Alas for him who has followed his family profession : it has befallen Banbha of the fresh soft surface that in Ireland's cool green field one's father's natural calling is not the best.
2. It has come to them, north and south, that the poetic order cannot speak of their fathers' produce : let us set about a change of work.
3. One must not spin the threads of lore ; one must not follow up the branches of kinship ; one must not weave artistry of lyrics ; poetry should not be spoken of.
4. The first man that professed poetry—alas that he did not find a substitute : the dignity he loved was transient ; your arts are a reproach to the scholar.
5. Alas that the fosterer in lore did not teach the breaking of steeds, or the steering of ships, or the yoking of ploughs behind oxen, to the men who compose lays.
6. Woe to the scholar who knows not some craft that would be no cause of censure, that he might join timbers, or shape a vat, ere he attained the service of learning.
7. For alliterative rhapsody no reverence could be got from men of low crafts ; alas that the refined metal of the wise wins not for its labour the comfort of serfs.
8. The honour of poesy is departed ; the credit of this guardianship is gone, so that the school of Ireland's land were better as husbandmen of the ploughland.
9. Let them not take to themselves beyond others the scorn of their choice verses ; not they alone, but the glory of the Gael is despised.
10. That goodly company that bestow not their wealth—it is not out of pity for the foreign troops that they keep the treasures of Fréamhann's hosts—as for them, they are left destitute.

11. Because riches have gone astray, because their possessions, one and all, have been taken from the youth of Brega, warmed by goblets, the bounty of these is hindered.
12. By the ebbing of their waves of courage, by the hiding of ancestral hearts from the host of Brega of the soft satin cloaks, by the stopping of exploits and rivalry—
13. By the abasement of kings' sons, lyrics are brought into contempt, by the concealing of the rights of the kings before them, by the hiding of the deeds of the Gael.
14. Since poesy has been accused in the matter of Gaels, which of them is best in friendship, and has most often helped her? Who ought to defend her?
15. Since need has overtaken the learned company, they must take the path they took of old towards the race of Irial.
16. Since among them above the host of Banbha art had its beginning,—Síol Róigh[1] of the ancient smooth dwellings—to them its end is entrusted.
17. To prove this, twelve hundred druids were once constrained for lack of justice to come to the great Children of Rudhraighe.
18. The schools of the land of fair Séadna are bound to travel in the same path to the son of Fear Dorcha, from all the claims that lie heavy upon them.
19. The winning of the goal has been left to the valour of one hand, so that the woodbine of Cobha's Plain is their only head of entertainment (?).
20. It is Magennis who has offered to rescue Tara's school; let others be soft or hard, to him men have gone for their keeping.
21. As he takes the prize above every man all through the hardness of the race of ancient Gaoidheal, so Art would be supreme in generosity at the time when charity would be swiftest.
22. Fear Dorcha's son gives away his treasures, other men store up their treasures; others preserve their fortune, he lavishes the flower of the world.
23. Of all the generosity that has left the hearts of the children of noble Créidhe, the equal has remained in Art's single heart, despite the oppression of the warriors of London.
24. Like the Hound of the feats[2] he has brought the order of poets to the house of Art: to-day as of old we have set our hopes upon the blood of Roach.

Osborn Bergin.

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[1] *Cf.* §24. Fearghus mac Róigh was a grandson of Rudhraighe. Roach probably = *ro-ech* "great horse." Though it is declined as a masculine, Mid. Ir. genealogists took it to be the mother's name.

[2] Cú Chulainn.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

BY WILLIAM DOOLIN, M.B., F.R.C.S.

A CRITICAL interest in the improvement of medical education has become increasingly evident in different countries within the past decade: the very considerable output of literature on the subject is the surest evidence of a widespread recognition that matters both need and are capable of improvement. Although it is nearly fifty years since the appearance of Billroth's "Lehren und Lernen der medizinischen Wissenschaften" and of Claude Bernard's "Introduction à l'Etude de la Médecine Expérimentale," both works are still of vital interest, and enunciate certain general principles as sound and as needful of utterance to-day as when they first made their appearance. On the eve of the War a Royal Commission on University Education in London had published its Final Report (1913), which was supplemented by Sir George Newman's valuable reports on English Medical Education in 1918 and in 1923. In Germany the medical education system has been subjected to searching criticism since the War (Waldeyer, Hellpach, Fischer, Schwalbe, and others); in America the numerous Bulletins of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching have been amplified by the individual comments of men like Osler, Welch, and Pearce; in France a sympathetic critic, M. Caullery, has added his voice to the general body of criticism. To this comprehensive list we may add Mr. A. Flexner's able survey of medical education in Europe and America,[1] one of the most fascinating studies it has ever been our good fortune to read. We shall borrow from it freely in the present article.

Looking back over the years which have elapsed since

[1] *Medical Education* (New York and London: Macmillan. 1925. 10*s.* 6*d.* net).

the writer's graduation, it is evident that the science of medicine has not remained to-day in 1925 where it stood in 1910. Both in extent and in quality it has advanced enormously *as a science*, and its forward progress has created requirements in teacher and student, in university and hospital, which were not thought of, in this country at least, fifteen years ago.

Of the three strands of which the old Art of Medicine was originally composed—superstition, empiricism, and observation—it is still composed to-day, but in varying proportions. If we may define as "scientific" the persistent effort of men to purify, extend, and organise their knowledge, in this sense a veritable revolution has taken place in our conception and practice of medicine within the past half century. Basing our knowledge and practice, not upon mysticism or empiricism, but upon observation, induction, and experiment, we may use the term science freely as applied to medicine and all its branches to-day. In observation, diagnosis, and treatment of a sick patient the practitioner of to-day uses, or should use, the same type of intelligence as is used in the solution of a problem in the physical or chemical laboratory. If medicine accepts this standard as its goal, *i.e.* scientific standards alike in research and in practice, medical education must be conceived as the effort to train students in the intellectual technique of inductive science.

Education in science consists of much more than the bare acquisition of information, or "learning of lessons," it concerns itself fundamentally with habituation to methods of investigation and thinking.

The steady permeation of our present day conception of medical education with the scientific ideal is, in the main, of German origin. Historically, in both France and Britain (and our medical schools in Ireland have been incepted and developed wholly under British ideas), the medical school grew, almost by accident, out of the hospitals. The old proprietary schools (such as the Hunters

conducted in London, and Carmichael and Ledwich here in Dublin) are now wholly things of the past. The student in Paris, London, Edinburgh, or Dublin learned his trade as an apprentice by the bedside; as the necessity for training in anatomy, pathology, chemistry, &c., arose, so schools were built up around the hospitals, subservient largely to the primary, empirical clinical idea. Such, in brief, is the main feature of the French and British educational aim in the training of the student to-day: viz., the training of doctors for practice by practical methods. The university aspect of their training does not fundamentally alter their purpose, and the medical faculty of such institutions consists very largely of practical physicians and surgeons engaged in training apprentices.

In Germany, and in the countries immediately surrounding her (Austria, Denmark, Scandinavia, Holland, and Switzerland), the point of departure came from the university professor, under whose guidance there developed the university medical school, wherein as much stress was laid upon research and investigation as upon teaching. Medical research on scientific lines formed no small part of the outburst of creative energy which was characteristic of Germany from 1866 on. The tremendously rapid growth of German influence on medical education during the next fifty years was due to the fact that, whereas in France and Britain the necessity for such education had arisen out of practice, in Germany it derived from pure learning. Knowledge was pursued as an end in itself, and no bounds or limits were set to its progress. Eminence in investigation became the accepted basis of promotion as a university teacher: "he investigated because he desired to speak of things at first hand: he took up a problem so that, having mastered it himself, he might be enabled to make it clear to his pupils."[1] The clinician developed precisely as the anatomist developed; he was a university professor; his clinic was a university

[1] J. G. McKendrick: *Life of Helmholtz.*

institute; his training deliberately aimed at making him a successful investigator. The organisation of the faculty was such as to favour a free development and exploitation of talent. We might characterise the different national atmospheres thus: in England educational organisation was indifferent to the spirit of independent research; in Germany it was eagerly sought for and encouraged; in France the entire organisation was inimical to it. France produced a Claude Bernard, a Pasteur, a Curie, in spite of her educational organisation, not because of it.

There is an interesting point of comparison to be made here, viz.:—that so long as progress was made by systematic individual observation at the bedside, the school of Paris, under Laennec, Louis, and Trousseau, was pre-eminent with that of Dublin, in which Graves, and Stokes and Colles have left their names in eponymous literature. But directly that progress came to depend on the interaction of clinic and laboratory, the superior German organisation, with teams of workers seething with enthusiasm for the acquisition of knowledge, told heavily in the race. Organised effort must ever in the long run prove superior to individual effort.

Medical education cannot be considered apart from general education. The physician should be an educated man. In general, the continental nations take care on this point, but in the English-speaking countries the physician is by no means always an educated man: our primary schools fall distinctly below the European level. A complicated mental equipment is necessary for medical training; the groundwork on which this is to be laid must have been prepared in the premedical period. Speaking from ten years' active teaching experience, the writer would indicate three grave shortcomings which may be laid at the door of the premedical schools: (*a*) feeble powers of observation in the first and second year's students; (*b*) lack of training in the inductive method; and (*c*) a general inability to express their meaning

accurately and concisely by the spoken or written word. Those who have associated with French students will recall the Frenchman's gift of expressing his meaning clearly and gracefully; the German has force, though he lacks the French grace and lucidity; but in this country, with very few exceptions, there appears to be no general recognition of the need for correct style and diction. Into the vexed question of the relative merits of classical and mathematical education the writer is not prepared to enter. But for the medical man there is a practical as well as a cultural importance in the knowledge of foreign languages, which is not yet adequately recognised. The literature of scientific medicine is readily accessible to those who are at home in English, German, and French; yet the percentage of our university students who could read an elementary textbook in either of these continental languages is deplorably small. Many physicians will answer this point with the objection that neither is necessary for the successful practice of medicine. Nor is it. But is not this the mental attitude of those who look on medical training as a glorified trade discipline, which shortsighted "ad hoc" attitude is assuredly mistaken? A large number of our students are, from the standpoint of the demands of modern medical training, undeniably immature and under-educated on their arrival at the university.

That diseases may be controlled, they must be studied and understood. The understanding of disease involves such prior knowledge of the normal human body and of its surrounding social conditions, its structure, functions, and environment, as will enable the intending physician to recognise departures from the normal and to deal intelligently with them. "La science ne s'établissant que par voie de comparaison, la connaissance de l'état pathologique ou anormal ne saurait être obtenue sans la connaissance de l'état normal, de même que l'action thérapeutique sur l'organisme des agents anormaux ou

médicaments, ne saurait être comprise scientifiquement sans l'étude préalable de l'action physiologique des agents normaux qui entretiennent les phénomènes de la vie " (Claude Bernard). The student, therefore, must build up a concept of normality against which the phenomena of disease will stand out. Our earlier efforts at providing medical education began in the wards, on the apprenticeship basis : this, the older, the more " natural " way, gradually becoming recognised as too confused and blundering a method of education, we have become converted by a process of continuous reorganisation to the " logical " method of education through the systematic and ordered approach of the schools, where the relatively simple is studied before the relatively complex : physics, chemistry, and biology pave the way for physiology ; anatomy comes before pathology ; and clinical work is only approached when the student has acquired a good grounding in the pre-clinical subjects. In France, to-day, the clinical idea still predominates ; students enter the clinic immediately, starting dissections at the same time : without any previous knowledge of the structure or functions of the body in health, they are sent to the wards to examine patients, to be quizzed at the bedside, and to absorb the lecturer's ideas on treatment. Thus the French student has no opportunity of laying a foundation before beginning his clinical studies. In general, it may be said that attendance on the clinics in these earlier years is both wasteful and demoralising. *Qui trop embrasse, mal étreint !*

Objections have been made by various critics to the " logical " arrangement of the medical curriculum : firstly, that it involves the presentation of subjects in watertight compartments ; secondly, that the student, not perceiving at once the use of the preclinical studies, fails to develop interest in them. The line drawn between the preclinical and the clinical studies is simply a useful convention for educational purposes. The medical sciences represent

but a very small portion of the vast biological field : as such, the entire field covered by the medical curriculum is a unit, not a series of entities, whose component parts merge into one another, and no one of them is taught without reference to the others. Provisional barriers must be erected for convenient purposes of study : the student learns anatomy, which is the science of normal structure, and physiology, which is the science of normal function, before he can approach pathology, which is the science of abnormal structure and function. These are in themselves sufficiently fascinating studies, and sufficiently irradiate each other. Premature playing with clinical problems is bound to mislead the student : in the long run, the student's capacity for growth on the clinical side of his work depends on his grasp of the basic sciences.

Our curriculum is now planned on the basis of six years' study, of which two and a half are devoted to the preclinical studies and three and a half to the clinical and allied subjects. There is a fundamental soundness in the arrangement of this curriculum as a whole, despite a certain lack of elasticity and a general over-attention to examinational requirements. Paradoxical as it may sound to the lay reader, the student can be " taught " neither the art nor the science of medicine : in our medical schools we cannot expect to produce fully trained doctors ; at the most, we can but hope to equip our students with a limited, fragmentary amount of knowledge, to train them in the method and spirit of scientific enquiry, and to launch them forth into the world with such intellectual momentum as will make them active learners, observers, readers, thinkers, for years to come. The achievement of this aim depends on the teacher and the student rather than on the curriculum.

The student, throughout the course of his scientific studies, must proceed by observation, reflection, and trial. From his prior knowledge of the normal he comes by observation to recognise the abnormal ; the continued

formation of the observational habit (Sir James Paget used to urge on his students " the habit of looking out ") will gradually accumulate for him that mass of additional information which constitutes experience. To the capacity of observation must be added the capacity for reflection, *i.e.* of observation in relation, in perceiving general laws, that he may be able, in Helmholtz's words, " to discriminate truth from the mere appearance of truth." But the basis of all good medical teaching lies in the student's active participation in the work done, *i.e.* the method of trial and experiment. He must acquire his training by *doing* things : merely being told or being shown means inactive training : he will, to be sure, make mistakes, he may even repeat them, but it is good for the student that he should occasionally " stray into the rough." The teacher has thus a dual function : to teach the student firstly to observe, and to train him further to generalize, so that he may put together the details of his experience, whether directly or indirectly acquired.

In all medical schools three methods of teaching are generally employed : the didactic lecture, the demonstrative lecture, and the application of practical exercises. Of these, the third is the backbone of all medical instruction if efficiently guided : it teaches the student the nature of evidence, and the infinite superiority of verifiable fact over dogmatic statement, however authoritative. " Why ask the question ? Try the experiment " wrote John Hunter to Jenner a century and a half ago. The practical exercise alone, however, is insufficient : the teacher's exposition by means of the demonstration lecture to a group or class allows of more systematic explanation and of the illustration of general principles. The didactic lecture may be classified as " textbook plus personality." To some students the printed page conveys but little : they have not learned how to read : such receive a more individual presentation of a subject from a forceful and magnetic personality.

The good lecturer, if successful, will arouse interest, convey information, stimulate reading, and demonstrate broad relationships. Students, however, are easily tired, their attention wanders once the saturation point is reached, and the didactic lecture should be sparingly used.

The teaching of anatomy follows this pattern more closely perhaps than any of the other subjects. And to the study of anatomy in these islands we owe the first breakaway to the logical methods of the schools from the empirical teaching of the hospitals, more than a hundred years ago. Protests are general to-day against an excessive expenditure of the student's time upon too detailed dissections; a redistribution of time in this respect would allow of more emphasis being laid upon histology and embryology, as has been done by Mall at Baltimore; again, clinical and anatomical studies might be correlated, as at Manchester, by the occasional introduction of patients to the anatomy class, with hospital records and X-ray plates for study. It has often struck the writer when teaching how eagerly students grasped at the conception of the interdependence of structure and function. The wisdom of a recent recommendation of the higher English educational authorities that students in their final year should attend compulsory revision classes in applied anatomy is open to doubt.

The teaching of physiology is of even more importance to the future practitioner than anatomy. A deeper and better understanding of the problems of disease must follow on the development and application of the newer physiology in clinical work, whether it be surgical, gynæcological, or medical. The laws in this country which restrict vivisection are extremely vexatious to the physiological worker, whether as a teacher or investigator; but in the various schools physiology is excellently taught. The provision of space and equipment is far from luxurious, but much practical work of a valuable nature is managed. In one special department of this

subject we are sadly crippled for want of funds—that of biochemistry. One reads with envy of the Dunn bequest for endowment of this branch at Cambridge!

In the study of pathology, as founded by Virchow and developed by his able disciple, Cohnheim, we have the link between school and clinic. This branch of medical science represents graphically to the student the inroads made alike on structure and function of the bodily organs by disease processes. In this country the subject is handled too largely as a clinical tool, a mere deadhouse anatomy; even at that, our pathologists suffer largely from a dearth of material, owing to the extreme reluctance with which permission is given at the various hospitals to perform *post-mortem* examinations. The theoretical pathology of the school and the practical pathology of the clinic form, unhappily, two geographical entities, with a consequent loss of co-ordination in the teaching afforded. We have no such thing as a *Pathologisches Institut* in the German sense, such as Orth's at Berlin.

With pathology is linked bacteriology as a handmaid to medicine and surgery; the clinician is apt to lean heavily on both as ancillary sciences. In view of the immensely wide importance of the latter subject, extending far beyond the needs of clinical medicine, in a university it is worthy of a special chair, working in close co-operation with the department of hygiene in the domain of preventive medicine. We shall refer again to one of the advantages of the "unit" system of clinical teaching where clinical and laboratory findings are ascertained and interpreted together, and an effective correlation brought about. In contrast with Germany, our pathologists are forced to be subservient to the clinical idea: they have to teach "the sort of pathology that every medical man has to know." That is done, and well done, but is it enough? The experimental idea in pathology is largely lacking in English schools. A student here, however, cannot, as in France, graduate without ever having seen a *post-mortem* examination!

One educational futility still holds a traditional place in our already overloaded curriculum, Materia Medica. Fifty years ago, Huxley wanted to " abolish it altogether." This subject occupies too prominent a place in the university curriculum. The practical methods of use of such few drugs as are of any real value and the practice of prescription writing may very well be learned incidentally as the student works his way through the medical clinic. A few well-demonstrated lectures would give the student a general view of the field of toxicology and pharmacology, and the action of the important drugs might be experimentally tested by groups of students working under supervision.

An excessive amount of time, wasteful to teacher and student alike, is utilised in keeping track of the student's attendance on the various lectures and courses. The brand of the old-fashioned schoolmaster is still on our roll-calls. We agree with Flexner that the student of 18–22 who needs to be so controlled has mistaken his calling. In all conscience, the provision by the university of good teachers and material ought to be enough ; the mature university student should be left in this country, as he is in Germany, to profit by these opportunities or not—at his own peril !

It is no paradox to assert that medicine can be learned but cannot be taught. The student must *want* to learn : he can be guided what to look for, advised what to read : his enforced attendance as an involuntary or passive unit in a class is in no sense educative to him, and is inasmuch a wanton waste of the teacher's time. The compulsory lecture has the further disadvantage to the teacher that he is protected against competition, and thereby damaged. The good teacher accomplishes most by the vigour and freshness with which he expounds his theme, and thus attracts his students.

If our student has profited as he should by his preclinical training, he will start his hospital work with his

faculties of observation and generalisation sufficiently developed, and with a keen interest as to the ultimate result of each clinical experiment in which he is permitted to participate. For the hospital is the laboratory of the clinical teacher, who is a scientist inasmuch as he is pledged to the critical scrutiny of facts. There is an essential similarity between the problems of the laboratory and those of the ward : the process of solution involves observation (clinical examination), deduction (diagnosis), and experiment (therapy).

During his clinical course, the student of medicine and surgery must be taught precisely as the student of anatomy and physiology is taught. At the bedside he is trained to observe with his unaided senses, his eyes, his ears, his fingers ; in the clinical laboratory and X-ray department he is trained in the examination of such evidence as cannot be obtained by the unaided senses. From this stage he is gradually led to generalize on the basis of observation. His knowledge and grasp may be extended by demonstrations, and even by didactic exposition. As knowledge accumulates, once his mind has been trained, it can be more quickly extended by reading, and by discussion and conference at various medical societies. There are thus three complementary methods in clinical training, each of which has its own part to play : (*a*) the study of the individual patient by the student under proper guidance ; (*b*) demonstration of cases by the clinical teacher ; and (*c*) exposition of principles by the professor or other lecturer.

Clinical teaching in Dublin is essentially sound, if somewhat unimaginative. The clinical teacher (who is for the most part outside university control) is a practitioner or consultant intent alike on practice and on training men and women students that they may later be able to deal with their patients. The lines within which this training operates are clearly marked from the outset. The student passes through two clinical stages.

During his second and third university years he spends at first one, later two, hours each morning walking the wards with a clinical teacher. The hospital service is cut up into small units under the charge of a staff surgeon or physician, with (or without) an assistant. To each staff man is attached a "resident" or clinical clerk, usually a fourth year student, who thus becomes a temporary member of the firm. These clerks have individually certain duties to perform in connection with particular patients: they examine patients, take histories, frame diagnoses and suggest treatment. They have, within specified hours, the run of the wards. It is assumed that when in difficulties they will be assisted by their superiors, and that their work will be checked by their chief. In practice, however, this checking up by the house-officers (themselves only recently graduated) is inefficiently done, and the chief (or his junior) in practice spends too little time in the clinic to carry on efficient control.[1] As the clinical rounds are made with the class, the student who has examined the patient is subjected to a quiz, or comment on his work: the clinical teacher dilates more or less freely and conversationally on each case, compares, explains, perhaps generalises. In this manner the student is "clinically" prepared for his life in future practice. Didactic lectures in the clinical subjects are given at the university, away from the clinical atmosphere, by the respective professors.

Most students recognise the value of a residential student appointment, of even a short duration; but the student may, and occasionally does, proceed to his final qualifying examination without ever having held such appointment. Obstetrical and gynœcological training is obtained in a similar manner by a short course of training in the special hospitals. No particular provision is made for pediatrics: a short course of attendance at a

[1] In the absence of the university, or unit, system, the official appointment of clinical tutors, as at Edinburgh, would be a valuable teaching asset.

series of demonstration-lectures at the municipal asylum covers the training in mental diseases. A small proportion of students, having qualified, receive higher appointments of six to twelve months duration as house-surgeons or house-physicians. The rest go into practice at once.

The clinical teaching is thus a direct survival of the old individualistic training of the apprentice, with its advantages—and its defects. The university exercises no control over the hospital in practice as it does over its anatomical and physiological departments. In the German universities the professor of surgery or medicine has the same standing in his clinic as has the professor of anatomy or physiology in his laboratory, and for precisely the same reason, namely, that the State has created and is supporting both to serve higher education and research. (Certain of the progressive American universities are following the German example). Outside Prussia the hospitals, whether State, provincial, or municipal, are grouped together to form university-clinics. The professor has as many beds as he needs, and as many assistants. The admission system is so designed as to enable him to collect material valuable for teaching and scientific purposes: his laboratories and his library are supported, and he teaches as he pleases. Within the university he has complete control.

But, even in Germany, there is a growing sense that all is not well with clinical teaching. If it be a reproach to the French and English schools that their teaching is too short-sightedly practical, the German student suffers from teaching that is too demonstrational, and not practical enough. Very little wardwork is done by the German student: even as a "Famulus" (resident student) he is little more than a drudge. The *Hörsaal* is equipped for effective demonstrative lecturing: here the students, in serried ranks, follow the expositions of their clinical masters for hours daily. As demonstrative clinics nothing could be better. The cases have been

thoroughly prepared for demonstration: histories have been taken by one team of assistants; laboratory examination made by another: the resources of the museum and library are freely called upon to provide comparative or illustrative material. The professor carries the entire course, making of the patient a text in clinical exposition. Unity and comprehensiveness of instruction result from the ordered presentation by a single mind. But the student's role is purely passive: he is not, as is a Dublin "resident" or a Paris "interne," an active agent in the hospital organisation. His practical training he gets, as a student, from courses given by the assistants, who are competent instructors as a rule, and have free use of the abundant material of the clinic. These courses are wholly voluntary, and may be rather "scrappy." The student in Germany is a passive recipient of all the knowledge he can absorb from magnificent demonstration classes. The Germans themselves recognise the shortcomings of their system, and seek to improve it by adding a "practical year" in hospital after obtaining the degree. But with many regular assistants ahead of him in the particular hierarchy of the clinic, the *Praktikant's* chances of obtaining much practical work are poor

In neither Germany nor France is efficient practical training available to all university students. In France it is limited to the select class of "internes," whose training in the preliminary sciences (by virtue of their method of election) has been insufficient; in Germany the preliminary training is excellent, but the clinical deficient. Both systems are unfairly partial to the able student, and in Germany excessive attention is devoted to research, where 95 per cent. of the students become practitioners.

To a greater or less degree, all schools must suffer from certain obstacles and defects. Progress forwards can be taken only in steps. Such an experimental step has recently been taken in London and Edinburgh by the establishment of teaching units under the university

idea in certain hospitals, side by side with the older system. A full-time chief surrounds himself with a group of young men who undertake to devote themselves for a period of years to the study of disease. On the teaching side the unit system has very great advantages. More thorough and systematic co-ordination between bedside and laboratory work is rendered possible. Systematic practical classes in biological and chemical methods of clinical investigation becomes feasible. Special cases can be assigned to small groups of students: to one a gastric case, to another a diabetic, a study of renal efficiency to a third. In this way, research problems can be attacked in close association by teacher and students. The remainder of the hospital staff usually manifest a sympathetic interest in the workings of this innovation.

It is not altogether idle to dream dreams! Such a teaching university unit or hospital could be provided in Dublin, as a separate corporation with an overlapping directorate, on the Johns Hopkins model, if provision were made that such a hospital might serve the needs of the medical department of the University. The site stands to hand in the municipal infirmary (South Dublin Union).[1] As far as teaching appointments are concerned they should be wholly under university control. An active pathological department could link the services together, with a modest laboratory in the hospital for experimental medicine and surgery. This "University College Hospital" might be regarded as the State's rather than the University's way of discharging an obligation to the sick poor, which exists independently of the problems of training physicians and advancing knowledge. The increased cost of more and better clinical facilities might be met by philanthropic agencies or by separate taxation. To ask the University to maintain the hospital would greatly increase the strain on its already slender resources. For each clinical unit

[1] Or the late Army Hospital, St. Bricin's, at Kingsbridge, a splendid site.

fifty beds should suffice : these could, as necessity arises, be increased from time to time by the courteous co-operation of the rest of the hospital staff, who could deflect cases to the particular worker specially interested in them.

Dublin has for long enjoyed a well-deserved reputation in the teaching of midwifery. This she owes to the happy circumstance that this subject is taught in such hospital units, viz., our special midwifery hospitals. If similar arrangements could obtain in the teaching of medicine and surgery, our efficiency as a teaching centre would be correspondingly enhanced. Such a hospital unit would provide an institute wherein active research and clinical teaching would go hand-in-hand ; for the lack of such opportunity Dublin is slipping from its former high estate as a teaching centre. In such a university hospital better work could be done for the student, and therefore for the public : students educated in its dispensaries and wards would go out to the country better equipped in scientific method ; at such a centre properly organised postgraduate courses would provide opportunities for the men who are some years out from the school and are anxious for a periodical " brush-up " through well-planned revision courses. In a word, the University has need for its own hospital, just as much as it needs its departments of chemistry or physiology, for without control of ample clinical facilities the clinical is apt to lag behind the pre-clinical education.

The unity of the university has become essential. With the increasing reliance of all the clinical activities of its medical faculty on the preclinical sciences, the advantages of the unification of the faculty have become unanswerably plain. A great distance separates the productive university school of medicine from the humdrum teaching centre, although both may have a similar curriculum on their syllabus. The curriculum does not provide the *character* of the school : it is the qualifications and predispositions of the faculty alone which can provide atmosphere.

WILLIAM DOOLIN.

THE PASSING OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND

BY JOSEPH CLAYTON, F.R.HIST.S.

THE movement which began in England in the eighties and proclaimed Socialism or social democracy for its goal, appealed from the first to many already preoccupied with the condition-of-the-people question and, taught by Ruskin and Carlyle, impatient of the speeches, programmes and policies of Liberals and Conservatives. The movement also from the first contained two schools, widely apart in aims and methods, divided in tactics and strategy, but alike in their disinterested fervour and untiring activity in the cause of Socialism and the poor.

The Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.), which had H. M. Hyndman for its founder, and two young engineers, John Burns and Tom Mann—both to become leaders in the trade union world—amongst the liveliest of its early members, and the Socialist League, with which William Morris was associated, were revolutionary (the League, indeed, was not untinged with anarchist sympathies); seeking quite frankly a new order of society, and anticipating that the coming age of universal brotherhood would be violently inaugurated.

The Fabian Society, on the other hand, under the guidance of George Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb, pooh-poohed the revolution, discouraged the idea of any radical change in human nature, and sought by obtaining control of local government and by influencing men and women of good-will in high places so to permeate the country with Socialist convictions that the day would never dawn when we should be able to say "Now Socialism has come"; so gradual was to be the process of transforming the capitalist system into a co-operative

commonwealth. In that historic phrase "the inevitability of gradualness" Sidney Webb chrystalised the Fabian creed. With the Fabians were a group of Church of England clergymen, Christian Socialists, of whom the chief was Stewart D. Headlam, an old Etonian who combined a singular devotion to Our Lady (then a very exceptional thing in the Church of England) with a life-long enthusiasm for Henry George's Single Tax on land values. This group of Anglicans supported the Fabians in the good work of "getting things done," and at the same time aided the S.D.F. in preaching the necessity for individual conversion.

For, at bottom, the real division between the two schools of Socialists in England was this: the S.D.F. and the revolutionaries believed that people must become Socialists before Socialism was possible; the Fabians were satisfied that by legislative and administrative enactments the nation could be quietly carried into Socialism without anybody noticing it.

While the revolutionaries, therefore, sought, in their own words, "to create a class-conscious proletariat," and, following Karl Marx the accepted prophet of the coming social and economic revolution, devoted themselves to making Socialists—in especial in the trade unions of the working class—the Fabians set out to capture the political organisations and county councils, and to establish Socialism by means of municipal ownership and an imperial civil service. The fact that Sidney Webb had been a civil servant helps to explain the Fabian attachment to what its enemies called "bureaucracy."

Neither S.D.F. nor Fabian Society had its origin in the working class. Hyndman was a well-to-do man, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, who for recreation played cricket for Sussex. William Morris, poet and great craftsman, was at Exeter College, Oxford, with his friend, Burne Jones, the painter. The Fabian Society was thoroughly middle-class; though a large number of

trade union leaders came to join it, recognising the value of Fabian tracts and leaflets. Hyndman on several occasions stood for parliament; but his complete outspokenness and utter disregard for the average voter's opinions always prevented election to the House of Commons. Never was a political leader so lacking in guile as H. M. Hyndman, nor one so indifferent to the art of the successful politician. But then Hyndman cared primarily for making converts to his economic and social beliefs, and was quite happy in the confidence that when the " inevitable " hour for Socialism arrived an enlightened working class would choose the right leaders to carry through the necessary revolution, and so all would be well! It was the red flag—a red rag then as now to John Bull—that mattered.

As for the Fabian Society it always sought to get its members elected to parliament and to county councils, and encouraged them to sail under any flag that promised success at the poll. Its policy was conciliation, the minimising of differences, persuasion. Bernard Shaw himself is the only Fabian who never made a good candidate. In fact as a good party man he has always been impossible. Beyond serving as a vestryman in the long defunct Vestry of St. Pancras in London—an experience that was useful to the playwright, as it was to his neighbours who elected him—for Shaw was a first rate committee man—he has never been a representative of the people, and has never contested a seat in the House of Commons. The incurable passion for preaching is not only Shaw's great stumbling block as a dramatist, it has always been fatal to his chances as a platform leader in politics. For Bernard Shaw must always be expounding ethics—from his own standpoint. The seriousness and Puritanism of the man may be disguised under the wit and paradox that are so vastly enjoyed or as heartily detested; they are characteristic; and it is an uncompromising character. (The seriousness of Mr. G.

K. Chesterton—a much younger man—is similarly veiled to multitudes by the wit and paradox that no one can miss. And Chesterton is as impossible a party man as Bernard Shaw, and as uncompromising in practical politics).

Neither S.D.F. nor Fabian Society succeeded in creating a definitely Socialist party in parliament. The former contested various seats—I can recall Mr. George Lansbury, for instance, twice putting up for Walworth, a densely crowded area in South London, and polling but a few hundred votes—but failed to break the solid party votes of Liberal and Conservative. The Fabian Society pursuing its policy of permeation was happy when its members were returned to the House of Commons as official Liberals. The propaganda of Socialism went on. The S.D.F. proclaimed the coming day of emancipation, the dawn of a new era. At its meetings we sang the revolutionary songs William Morris wrote for us, and solemnly chanted Edward Carpenter's "England Arise! the long, long night is over." The Fabian lecturers explained to Radical clubs, in drawing-rooms, and in fact wherever they could get a hearing, that it would be much more convenient, besides saving the rate-payer a lot of money, and far more efficient, if gas and water and electric light were owned and managed by municipalities and county councils. The common sense of Socialism was the Fabian argument, and it drove Sir William Harcourt, old Whig that he was, to declare "We are all Socialists now."

The rise of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) in the early nineties, and the steady and continuous influence of James Keir Hardie in its councils, brought a new spirit into the Socialist movement. Keir Hardie was a Scotsman, a strong theist; and religion and poetry coloured all his speeches. He was also a quite shrewd politician. In his boyhood he had worked in the coal pits of his native Lanarkshire, and he had grown to manhood keenly sensitive to social injustice, and to the

wrongs of the labourer. His Socialism was a good deal a matter of feeling; for Hardie never pretended to have read Marx, or to have made any particular study of economics. That co-operation should succeed competition in industry; that men should not prey upon one another, but rather live as brothers; and that the brotherhood of man would be well on its way to fulfilment when the working people left off voting for Liberals and Tories and elected their own independent representatives, pretty well summed up the message Hardie delivered in the nineties. The message met with immediate response—in especial in the great industrial centres and factory towns. There was just enough Socialism in it to give a vision of better things, while at the same time it appealed to social reformers who wanted to get things done. In the main the I.L.P. was a working class movement, and its leaders were trade unionists. But it welcomed as comrades all who were not afflicted with the prejudice of social inequality, and many of us who had learnt our Socialism in the eighties threw ourselves into the high adventure.

Ramsay MacDonald came early into the I.L.P. when it was a going concern; so did J. H. Clynes, Philip Snowden and other Right Honourables of the late Labour Cabinet. Earnest minded men and women who knew the misery of the poor, Anglican Christian Socialists living in clergy houses in London slums, young university men inspired by Ruskin and Morris, trade union organisers impatient of recurring strikes and lock-outs, and of the capitalist system which entailed them, all came into the I.L.P. in the nineties. The unemployed were with us then as they had been at intervals throughout the century, and many there were who joined the I.L.P. solely because it promised to solve what was called "the problem of unemployment." It is not too much to say that unemployment and the incapacity of Liberals and Tories to get rid of it, were more than anything else responsible for the growth of Socialism. Both S.D.F. and I.L.P. at

least demanded that the unemployed should not be forgotten and should not starve; and both denounced the Government that confessed its powerlessness to alter an economic system which included periodical seasons of unemployment and the permanent existence of an unemployed class.

(And if the late Labour Government did nothing in its short term of office to remedy unemployment it is nevertheless due to the agitation of the Socialists that the unemployed no longer starve—as they were left to do, even in the nineties. I was secretary of the I.L.P. Unemployed Committee in Leeds in those hard winters 1894 and 1895, and despite our efforts to get temporary relief for the out-of-work labourers there was, to my knowledge, one death at least from sheer hunger; and Leeds was a wealthy city. Hungry children, too, no longer go without a meal in the public elementary schools when there is no food at home. Yet, when I stood as an I.L.P. candidate for the old Leeds school board in 1894 and urged that provision should be made for the feeding of necessitous school children, the very suggestion cost me so many votes that I was not elected).

The I.L.P., though never Marxist, was enthusiastically international, and as strongly nationalist as the S.D.F. The Fabian Society was international, but was contemptuous of nationality. Alone among Socialist organizations it professed neutrality at the time of the South African War and was not pro-Boer; and while it gave nominal support to Home Rule for Ireland it could hardly do otherwise, since Home Rule was a plank in the Liberal programme. James Connolly—God rest his soul—who came to one or more of the annual conferences of the I.L.P. as a delegate of some Dublin Republican Labour League, warned us that Home Rule if granted promptly might satisfy Irish politicians, but that the social question would sooner or later come to the front in Ireland, and that the Irish people must be free to solve it in their own

way. (We in England who met Connolly always counted him among the ablest of Irish labour leaders; but then no other Irishmen not resident in England, save Michael Davitt and William Field of Dublin, ever gave any support to the British Labour movement).

The I.L.P. achieved success; it produced a political Labour Party and persuaded the trade unions to adopt an independent policy, to send to parliament their own representatives without consulting Liberals or Tories. The Labour Party—the fulfilment of the vision of Keir Hardie and the triumph of Ramsay MacDonald's plans; for it was the very instrument for displacing the Liberals—while it assented to a programme nominally Socialist and agreed that definitely Socialist bodies outside the trade unions should be part of its composite constitution, accepted Socialism as a tradition but refused to find in it an inspiration. Nay, in a very few years the tradition came to be derided as a superstition. The success which the creation of a Labour Party signified, marked in reality the beginning of a change and the passing of Socialism.

It was the outbreak of War in August, 1914, that shattered the international Socialist movement and split the movement within each nation involved in war. Yet even before the War the signs of revision were apparent. Ramsay MacDonald braced himself from his first entry into politics to the task of leadership, and decided that leadership in politics in England was hardly compatible with fundamental social changes.

MacDonald's Socialism had been picked up in the Fabian Society, and the "inevitability of gradualness" suited him for a slogan far better than the old social democratic aspirations—"the world for the workers," "workers of all countries unite," and similar cries. The Labour Party, of which MacDonald was duly elected Secretary from its establishment in 1900 as the Labour Representation Committee, adopted the Socialist formulae—the nationalization of the land, etc., but without convic-

tion. In fact it was thoroughly modernist in its attitude to the official Marxist doctrine. The creed might be retained, but must not be taken for historic truth in the light of modern research and new psychology. Vague ethical sentiments of a high character were substituted for the economics that taught an irreconcilable struggle between capital and labour. Instead of a small but growing " class conscious proletariat " the borders were to be enlarged, the tests of membership relaxed ; so that all who wished well to the poor, and were genuinely anxious for measures of social reform, might be included. The " cause " had become—even in 1906, when the Labour Party entered parliament forty strong—the success of a party rather than an " emancipation of the workers." MacDonald and Philip Snowden wrote little books on Socialism to show that there was nothing revolutionary in the idea, nothing that need frighten the middle classes. (As a matter of fact there is nothing in these books that Catholics can take exception to on theological grounds, though they may reasonably dislike some of the items in the programme of the neo-socialists and dissent from the argument.)

Apart from the destructive criticism of the old Marxian teaching wrought by the modernists, the responsibility of a seat in the House of Commons and the social intercourse with the enemy in parliament took the edge off the steel of opposition. (Parnell had kept his men severely detached from this friendly intercourse, knowing the danger of fraternising with the enemy ; and Keir Hardie, similarly, always held aloof in the House of Commons and rejected overtures that might weaken his attacks on the existing order. But the average Labour M.P. readily and gladly succumbed to the genial atmosphere of " the best club in London " ; and thus promptly learned to catch " the tone of the House "). Moreover the average Labour M.P. was middle-aged by the time he reached parliament. Robert Smillie, the leader of the Miners, once said to me

in the Lobby of the House of Commons that no Labour man ought to come into parliament over thirty. The trade union organizer ages prematurely, and the fire that once blazed vigorously is apt to die down when a seat in parliament has been won. The energy has been spent in the long years of trade union work, and the middle-aged workman is older than his years.

The European War broke up International Socialism, and the Treaty of Versailles was not an instrument for restoring an internationalism of any kind. The nations remain unreconciled, coldly hostile, mutually suspicious. Before the War English Socialists of the new school, or the old, were sincerely internationalist. I remember at Southampton in 1898 when I was acting as agent for the first I.L.P. candidate returned to the school board, Canon Scanlan, interested in the equally successful fortunes of the Catholic candidate, came up to me in the room where the votes were being counted and said softly, "Ah! the red international! But ours is the older international and will outlast yours."

Many of us thought European war impossible, that the Socialists and trade unions were strong enough to prevent it. Hyndman himself was shocked when the German social-democrats voted the war credits in August, 1914; and the shock gave him misgivings that social-democracy alone was not sufficient for a religion, something else he began to perceive was needed. Socialism, it was proved, could not stop war between European nations. It could not even hold its followers together in the face of war. In Great Britain, as in every other land, the majority stood by the government and took up arms. A minority (and in England this included Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden and the I.L.P. generally) became definitely pacifist and refused to accept the situation.

In this the minority took up a traditional attitude. Burke and Chatham in the eighteenth century were against the war with the revolting American colonies;

Fox and the Radicals were pro-Napoleonic; Cobden and Bright stood out against the Crimean War; Campbell-Bannerman and Lloyd George (but not Asquith) were opposed to the war with the Boers. Disliked while war lasts this minority is favourably regarded in the period of distress that invariably follows the end of a big war. So it happened at the general election of 1922, when Ramsay MacDonald and the Labour Party came back to the House of Commons in larger numbers than ever to supersede the Liberals as his majesty's opposition. At the elections in 1923 the Labour Party polled even better, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became the first Labour prime minister.

It was then that in England, as throughout Europe, it was plain, for all who would, to see that the Socialism proclaimed forty years earlier had passed. The Socialism which had drawn us in the eighties promised an end to the wage system, to the competition between man and man for a living, and proclaimed that a co-operative commonwealth would be established as soon as enough people desired to get rid of capitalism. In this co-operative commonwealth or social-democracy none were to live on rent or interest, for all but the very young, the aged and infirm, would take his, or her, share in the necessary work of providing food, shelter and raiment for everybody. A vast amount of personal liberty was part of the vision, since it was estimated that not more than four hours a day need be worked by anyone, and the rest of the time we should be free to follow art or letters, and to cultivate our gardens. It also allowed time for the worship of God—for those who desired.

(Perhaps the presence of so many avowed liberal agnostics—Herbert Spencer, John Morley, and Professor Huxley, to name but three—in the ranks of the individualists kept the Socialist movement in England from any enthusiasm for atheism. Anglican and nonconformist clergymen were always welcomed at our meetings, and

the Catholic Church was only disliked by the few who inherited some " no popery " prejudice of their Protestant ancestry, or had lapsed from the faith of their fathers).

The national debt was to be repudiated—how otherwise could we prevent people living on interest ?—the land, the mines, the railways and all public services were to be managed and directed in the interest of the whole nation. Production, henceforth, was to be for use and not for profit. We had no desire for state capitalism, and no love of government control. Fellowship and goodwill were to be the mainspring of social life. Incidentally the Socialist programme included the abolition of standing armies and navies, but every adult citizen would be expected to take his turn of military training, ready to bear arms in case of accidents ; the abolition of monarchy, as savouring of class distinction and snobbery ; and the disestablishment of all churches. The last item was insisted upon by the Anglican Christian Socialists ; there was no desire to put the cathedrals and old parish churches to secular uses. As steps to the new order of society, or as palliatives, shorter hours of labour were urged and children were to be kept at school and out of the labour market. By this means the number of unemployed would be reduced, since children were doing work that otherwise would be done by grown up men and women.

It all has passed, the Socialism that once made so strong an appeal. It has passed as surely as the Chartism of 1838-58 has passed. No leader of the Labour Party even pretends to a policy that would substitute co-operation for the wage system, or abolish the national debt and a standing army. The Labour Party takes it for granted that certain classes will go on investing their money and living on the interest ; that rich people will continue to own, and keep the poor off, the land ; that trade will flourish and the trader grow rich even while the land goes steadily out of cultivation. Ramsay MacDonald insists on every occasion that the Labour

Party is not out to upset anybody, and that it "will roar you as gently as any sucking dove." Young men of wealth and intelligence in search of a political career are invited to join the Labour Party—and many of them accept the invitation.

In place of the old Socialism the programme of the Labour Party is social reform; and the programme of the Conservatives is a very similar one.

What has happened in Great Britain has happened in other lands. Continental Socialism is now very largely nothing but social reform. In Belgium, 1925, Catholics and Socialists form a coalition government.

The Communists have picked up the Red Flag and the old revolutionary watch-words and now frighten the middle classes as once the Socialists did. The genius of Lenin in Russia brought off a coup d'état, and for nearly eight years the Communists have been in power in that vast country. But the Russian peasants remain in possession of the lands they have so long occupied, and the additional acres taken from former owners, and the Communists cannot disturb them.

Elsewhere Communism enjoys but a strictly limited following. In England it may make some progress in the trade unions, and not improbably Communists will be elected to positions of responsibility. The Miners' Federation has a Communist for its general secretary. But responsibility in every revolutionary movement requires sobriety of mind, and with sobriety comes hesitation. Before the Communists in England can make any favourable impression on the great mass of people they must either get rid of atheism from the programme of the party, or carefully suppress the fact that atheism is an article of the Communist creed. For the English people—in the main theists—have never shown any partiality for religious persecution, though their rulers have from time to time made them consent to it.

JOSEPH CLAYTON.

THE CATHOLIC IDEAL OF CHURCH MUSIC

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J., M.A.

IN the *Motu Proprio* of the years 1903 and 1904 Pope Pius X defined the three kinds of music that may be performed in Church. "Plain chant," he said, "has always been looked upon as the highest model of Church music." Secondly, "The music of the classical school .... which reached its greatest perfection under Palestrina .... agrees very well with the highest model of all sacred music, namely, plain chant, and therefore it deserves, together with plain chant, to be used in the more solemn offices of the Church." Thirdly, "More modern music may also be allowed" if "good, serious and dignified," free from profane associations, and not "based in its form on the style of secular compositions." It seems necessary to quote these well-known words; for, though admired even by Protestants, they were in many places little further heeded in the Church. The reason of this neglect was that the rulings in respect of modern music offered a certain latitude of interpretation. Any choirmaster could thus escape from them without much sophistry. What constitutes musical goodness or profane associations seemed largely matters of opinion. Hence the Pope's instructions were limited in their good results.

The object of this article is to investigate the precise meaning of the Pope's pronouncement on modern music. We shall take his approval of plain chant and polyphony, words of definite meaning, as indicative of the specific nature of the modern compositions he had in mind. We shall consider the qualities that sacred music, abstractly considered, should possess, show how they are present in plain chant and polyphony, and consider under what conditions and how far modern music may exhibit them.

Then we shall attempt to draw up a few rules to guide choirmasters in their choice of sacred music. As above implied, the article only deals with such music as is performed during liturgical ceremonies.

THE FUNCTION OF CHURCH MUSIC AND ITS IMPLICATIONS.

Church music is not an end in itself. Its sole function is to express more fully the meaning of the liturgy. It does so by giving expression to the religious emotion with which the Latin words were written. Hence their appeal becomes more intense, for it is made not merely to the reason but in some measure to the senses as well. Two conclusions follow immediately from this. Firstly, sacred music differs from all other vocal music inasmuch as it is wholly subordinated to its words. It is not enough for it to express the general sentiment or even the meaning of the words. It must also allow the words themselves to be distinguished. They must convey their own thought and feeling clearly and directly, and not *merely through* the music. As Pope Pius X says, sacred music's " chief duty is to clothe the liturgical text, and to make that text more efficacious, so that the faithful may be the more roused to devotion." Secondly, church music differs from other music inasmuch as the creation of beauty is not its chief end. Beauty and the giving of pleasure are, of course, qualities always found in it. But they should not be its direct aims. They arise rather from the co-ordination of the music with the words of the liturgy, which are lovely and a source of joy. Artistic beauty is then rather a necessary condition than the final cause of good church music. But the function of church music implies in it other qualities more remote but not less important.

Emotional restraint is the first of these qualities. The personal mood of the composer while writing should be given only mitigated expression ; for church music, an auxiliary of the prayers of the liturgy, should have the

reverence of prayer. But in general an unrestrained display of emotion, at a time when our attention is professedly bent on the Presence of God, would argue higher regard for such personal feeling than for the respect due to the Divine Presence. Reverence hence demands emotional reserve, but it does not, cannot demand the absence of emotion ; for unemotional music is an impossibility. Emotion moreover is a desirable element in every Catholic's religion. Its absence is more often than not a sign of insincerity. Hence we must indeed express emotion, but emotion controlled. This ideal will be reached if we rigidly exclude not merely violently excitable music, but any music that expresses a state of mind in which the emotions master the reason.

Secondly, individuality of style should be restrained in sacred music. The expression of the personal temperament of the composer may no more be given free play than that of his personal mood while writing. The liturgy is above all a traditional form. It represents the common mind of the whole Church, unchanged through twenty centuries. Hence the style of church music must be primarily true to tradition. Nevertheless the expression of individual personality is not wholly excluded. Indeed, here as everywhere, artistic creation is simply the expression of the mental features, the *indoles*, of the artist. What we maintain is that among the qualifying influences of the musical style individuality should be secondary to the mind of the Church. Much less should this individuality be the *subject-matter* of the music, or that which the music directly aims at expressing. This is rigidly defined by the words to which the music is set. Affectation and extravagance, faults due to excessive striving after originality and a consequent revolt from the traditional manner, are to be still more strictly ruled out.

Thirdly, strongly marked rhythm is foreign to the spirit of sacred music. The liturgy is essentially a prayer. Hence the music that illustrates it should suggest the

repose and contemplation proper to prayer. But obtrusive or even rigidly regular rhythm is contrary to such suggestion. Indeed an insistently regular rhythm produces in the hearer a nervous excitation that prompts him to dance. This will be the more true if the rhythm attracts attention by the charm of the melody of which it is the skeleton. But dancing or even its remote suggestion is not consistent with mental repose. Much less is it consistent with prayer. So the rhythm of church music should not be such as to attract attention to itself.

These Requisites fulfilled by Mediaeval Music.

So far these rules may have the elusiveness common to all abstract principles that are not demonstrated in practice. But they have been exemplified in plain chant and polyphony, the two forms of mediaeval music praised in the *Motu Proprio*. We shall now demonstrate them practically by showing how these forms treat emotion, temperament, and rhythm.

The mediaeval man was less introspective than the modern man. He was more concerned with his works than with himself. He had no morbid craving for pity or self-advertisement, even if he were an artist or otherwise unfortunate. Few artists of the time felt inspired to reveal the secret places of their hearts. No one recognised the duty of being interested in such revelations. Hence the composers of plain chant and polyphony were inclined by the very spirit of the age to determine their subject-matter by some element outside of themselves. This determinant was naturally the words to which the music was set. Emotion was not absent from the composer. Only its expression in the music was restrained. Moreover, even such emotion as they did express was identified as far as possible with the stern emotion informing the words themselves. The composer's emotion was not a new emotion stirred up by the words and poured into music, but an intensification of the words' *original* emotion.

The composer wrote, not as an individual, but as the mouthpiece of the corporate church. Consider plain chant. Its beauty is wholly determined by the words. Without words it has not even significance. Polyphony was more emotional. But it too was reserved in allowing the composer to express his moods; for it is technically a development of plain chant. The subject of the Mass, which is the same in every movement, is nearly always taken wholesale from plain chant, by the Roman School. Its development in each movement aims directly at giving prominence to the words. These convey their message immediately. The counterpoint, so far from obscuring it, emphasizes it and renders it more eloquent. Again both polyphony and plain chant secured stateliness and sobriety by avoiding accidentals. These are the chief emotional device of modern music. They secure their end by their unexpectedness. They are at least mildly startling; and thus with the help of the context they are wont to excite soft emotions. Now plain chant was virtually devoid of accidentals. True, one accidental is printed in many melodies. But this is only to make up for the absence of a key-signature. It does not introduce tonality foreign to the mode of the melody. Polyphony confined accidentals to the cadences of the modes. They produced the effect of momentary modulations here, but solely into closely-related keys. Chromatic unessential notes were excluded in both forms on account of their incongruous lyrical sweetness. Their exclusion caused a lack of varied colour in the music. Plain chant compensated for this by an organ accompaniment of solemn triads and the volume of voices in unison, polyphony by the splendour of its counterpoint.

The two styles also compelled the composer to subordinate the expression of his own individual temperament to that of the moral personality of the Church. Plain chant compelled this by its almost complete dependence on the words for significance. In any case

the expressional resources available in the middle ages were very simple. There was no harmony among the voices. The instrumental accompaniment, long after the disappearance of diaphony, was perfunctory. Polyphony maintained the predominance of the traditional element over individuality by much the same means. It depended on the words for its emotion. It depended on plain chant itself for the composition of its subjects and to some extent for the formation of its style. It had harmony of course instead of unison. But even this element was introduced rather fortuitously than deliberately. It arose consequently upon the simultaneous performance of different melodies. However, polyphony also maintained its traditional spirit by the use of a highly detailed, stereotyped technique. Thus accented, unprepared discords and the leap of a major sixth in melody were perfectly well known to the polyphonists as possible extensions of their technical resources. They are not naturally offensive to the ear, at least under conditions easily ascertainable by experiment. Yet polyphony forbade them. The reason of this prohibition was that phrases based on these devices are hard to sing accurately. But its result was that it acted as a protection of a traditional style. The effect upon both plain chant and polyphony of restraining personal emotion is, in a word, dignity. The effect of maintaining tradition against originality is naturalness.

Furthermore, the rhythm of these two styles was very subdued. Musical rhythms may be classified according to analogy with literary rhythms.[1] There are three literary rhythms of fairly precise definition: (i) prose rhythm, (ii) free-verse rhythm, which consists in the repetition of a fixed foot, and (iii) regular-verse rhythm, which, besides this repetition, regulates the number of

[1] Some very modern theorists distinguish between the motions of polyphonic and modern music by calling them respectively rhapsody and rhythm. But surely the motion of polyphony, so-called rhapsody, is itself a species of rhythm.

feet in each line according to a predetermined rhythmic pattern. Now the rhythm of plain chant, nearly all critics agree, is simply that of Latin prose. This feature remained even after the redaction of plain chant to mensural music in the 12th century, for it was never divided into bars. Polyphonic rhythm is equivalent to free-verse rhythm. It is divided into bars, the musical equivalent of feet. But their number in a complete rhythmical sentence is determined solely by the sense of the words. Each of the voices must enter in turn. Then a group of words significantly complete (that is, either a complete sentence or a complete logical *part* of a sentence) must be made clear to the audience. When these two conditions have been fulfilled the music pauses, as a rule, on a cadence. Regular-verse rhythm corresponds then to modern musical rhythm. A wider choice of rhythm was given indeed to the polyphonist than to the composer of plain chant. But this choice was further modified; for the exigencies of singing again acted as a protection to the gravity of the music. The ease of the singers demanded that notes of strongly contrasted time-value should not come close together. It demanded, too, more conjunct than disjunct movement in the melodic progressions; that is, movement by step rather than by leap. These became rules of polyphonic technique and enhanced its sobriety.

The Modern Style in regard to these Requisites.

Now modern music is not a development of mediaeval church music. It was primarily evolved from the dance and the folk-song. This was chiefly the work of Catherine de Medici in the 16th century. Thenceforward dance-music was in greater public demand than church music. Its composition absorbed the energies of most composers. The domination of the dance had three results: (i) it revolutionized rhythm, (ii) it developed instrumental style, and (iii) it modified the seriousness of music. The

only emotions suitable to dance-music are gaiety or superficial sentimentality. Deeper emotions impede rhythm. Thus the early solo-sonatas of Corelli, Tartini, Scarlatti and others are virtually dance-suites. Each movement is a dance acknowledged or but thinly disguised. Later composers felt the need of infusing absolute[1] music with a deeper emotional significance. Mozart to some extent, Beethoven and all subsequent composers freely drew upon musical folk-lore for this purpose. Schubert was almost a composer of folk-songs. The experiments of later composers then still further expanded the resources of the art founded on the dance and the folk-song.

Meanwhile polyphony decayed. Iron-bound in a conventional technique, it was unable to modify itself sufficiently to meet the new taste. Palestrina himself varied his counterpoint with massive homophonic effects. Tallis and Byrde, Catholic musicians under Elizabeth, Viadana and others carried onward the torch. Even Lotti's music as late as 1740 bears a bedraggled resemblance to polyphony. After that polyphony wholly faded. Strict counterpoint became free in Bach and other fugalists. This latter was a technique chiefly instrumental. There were no species in it. It set no restriction on leaps. It set as much store by sequence of chords as by the melodic curve of the various parts. In vocal music the words ceased to be important. Indeed not to hamper musical expression they were often designedly meaningless or wholly neglected. Polyphony was not the root of modern music. Rather it was its defeated rival. This preliminary historical retrospect will explain the origin of the characteristics of the modern style, now to be discussed.

And first of all, modern music primarily aims at expressing emotion; for modern music is fundamentally absolute music, or music *per se*. But music *per se* is the

[1] In this article absolute music means music that is independent for its significance of anything outside of itself. Absolute music therefore excludes: (i) music set to words, (ii) programme music, and (iii) dance music.

expression of emotion alone. It can only be called intellectual in so far as the emotion it expresses may remotely suggest the thought or object most often associated in each hearer's mind with that emotion. Accordingly the thoughts suggested would vary with each individual. A languorous adagio may be as suggestive to one cultured hearer of romantic love as to another of the peace of heaven. To assert dogmatically that either of these suggestions is the objective meaning of the music is analogous to the most widespread disease of modern minds—namely, the tendency to mistake an emotional bias for an intellectual conviction. The adagio has appealed directly to the emotions. The further appeal of the emotions to the intellect is due to arbitrary association, purely subjective. Hence to call absolute music (most modern music) necessarily intellectual or descriptive or religious, or necessarily anything except sensuous and emotional is to lose sight of its nature. "Inspiration" is what the critic first looks for in it. But inspiration is our name for the prompting of the artist to seek the world's sympathy for a personal mood. Hence, since modern music is based on absolute music, the expression of emotion rather than of thought is its primary end. Thus it essentially abhors the severe emotional repression required for liturgical music. It even lacks the more moderate control of feeling necessary for the *grande manière* in any art. Beethoven himself seems to have regarded vehemence, a wild ecstasy of passion, as the ideal of music. Witness almost any of the first-movement Allegros in minor keys of his sonatas.

Another catchword of modern criticism is that music —indeed all art—must be original. This means, if anything, that music must portray the individual temperament of its composer. Such originality is deemed necessary because it attributes the emotion of the music to a subject, namely, a definite person. Thus the emotion becomes more realistic and convincing. But the only

way of expressing this individuality is in the style. *Le style c'est l'homme*, said Bouffon. Moreover, the temperaments of no two persons are alike. Hence their expressions will differ. And so it follows that novelty of manner is invariably a constituent of approved modern music. *A priori* it would seem that modern technique, at least, would adhere to tradition; for music is a non-precise mode of expression. The meaning of certain of its idioms and phrases has only been determined by convention. It follows then that the unconventional is likely to be meaningless. Yet novelty has invaded even modern technique as well as modern personal style. Certain of the more radical innovations of the present day are not even eminently contained in traditional theory. The whole-tone scale, purely the product of experimentation, may never be reconciled with the long-standing principles. The music of the last two centuries was written in a strictly personal style. The music now being written is in addition to this written in a largely personal technique. To marked individuality it thus adds a tendency to extravagance.

Insistent regularity of rhythm is also characteristic of modern music. The first end of dance-music is to regulate and render uniform the movements of the dancers. It does this by the continuous statement aloud of a simple, strongly-marked rhythm. An intricate rhythm would be a strain on the dancer's memory. It would thus impede either his pleasure or his feet. Now the rhythms of plain chant and polyphony (even of the madrigals) were by nature broken and unobtrusive. Hence dance-composers had to have recourse to an eight-bar rhythm found in the songs of the folk and the troubadours. This is equivalent to the rhythm of regular verse. Of all the three classes of rhythm already enumerated it is the most peremptory. It is devised primarily to command attention by distribution of the stresses in strictly mathematical proportion. Thus the strongest stress is

on the first beat of the first bar; the next strongest is on the first of the fifth bar, and so on, at least potentially, to the ultimate subdivisions of the bars themselves with the regularity of a philosophical *continuum*. It is true that writers of absolute music soon modified the eight-bar tradition. They found it wooden and artificial. Its antitheses too were a temptation to rhetoric. To relieve the monotony they used various devices. Sometimes they inserted intercalary bars, forming so-called nine-bar rhythm. Sometimes they extended cadences by sequences or by doubling the time-values of the cadential chords. Wagner's practice, as we know, was guided by a cool and objective critical judgment. He often returned in recitative to what was virtually polyphonic rhythm. When true to modern technique he still contrived to relieve rhythmic monotony. He was fond of long rhythms. Producing them by the avoidance of emphatic cadences, he often extended them to the length of sixty-four bars or more. He also attains solemnity by his use of long notes, and by avoiding the jiggy effect of notes of sharply-contrasted time-values—ghostly reflections both of polyphony. Nevertheless it is still true that modern music is essentially founded on eight-bar rhythm, however modified. These very modifications are an implied admission of the failure of that rhythm to achieve dignity.

A feature of modern *vocal* music that now demands special treatment is the prevalence of disjunct movement in it. Plain chant, it is true, interests its hearers largely by melodic leaps. Nevertheless in any piece of plain chant more than half of the melodic movements will be found to be made by step. The melody of polyphony favoured conjunct movement even more. The reason was that it was easier to sing especially in counterpoint. Only singers of exceptionally good ear could take leaps of fourths and sixths without some groping for the note. Instruments, however, could take wide melodic intervals as easily as semitones. Moreover it was found that such

leaps gave much piquancy to dance-music. Hence followed two consequences to absolute music : (i) Arpeggios as a means of rendering the harmony more explicit came into widespread use. They were especially suited to instruments unable to sustain notes such as the harpsichord and the harp. Again (ii) surprising melodic leaps came into use for purposes of quaint, grotesque, or lively effects. The old violin sonatas of the seventeenth century employ an oddly graceful cadential leap. The leading note, instead of rising a degree to the tonic, falls to the tonic a seventh below. The minuets of Haydn, moreover, often depend for their humour on a series of fantastic leaps. After a while the ears of singers grew accustomed to instrumental melody. Then composers, even church composers, began to write many leaps and rapid scale-passages for the voice. The curve of vocal melodies inclined to a continuous series of leaps. They even admitted arpeggios, at least in the modified form in which singers run up and down the notes of a chord without passing notes. Beethoven, and still more Brahms, built up many a theme almost exclusively from the notes of a single triad or seventh. Disjunct movement may have infused brilliance into vocal music. It certainly caused a further disturbance of its gravity and sobriety.

CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS.

Two facts should be plain from the foregoing. First of all, modern music is of its nature anti-ecclesiastical. This is clear from a comparison of the characteristics of modern music just described with the requisites for good church music as I have also laid them down. The second fact is that the music generally performed in our churches is one kind of modern music. As soon as polyphony became extinct the substitution of the modern style might have been foreseen as inevitable. That it *has* occurred needs no proof. Any unbiased critic can detect in modern church music the characteristics of absolute music

as just detailed. The paragraph on modern vocal music demonstrates this fact explicitly. Hence we conclude that modern church music is by nature alien to the requisites of good church music. It may be objected that the characteristics of absolute music are much modified and chastened by modern church composers so as to adapt them to the liturgy. This is true, but it does not remove our indictment. It only lessens its force; for it has been shown that these characteristics are of the essence of modern music. Hence only the abolition of the modern style itself can get rid of them. Again we saw that plain chant altogether fulfils the requisites of good church music. So that modern church music must also diverge from the characteristics of plain chant. But the *Motu Proprio* holds up plain chant as the ideal of sacred music. It follows then that modern church music is alien to the ideal of the *Motu Proprio*.

It does not follow, of course, that polyphony is the only variant on plain chant that can meet the requirements of the Church. This may be true, however. It is certainly true that it is the only variant that has been specifically approved. The most obvious way of obeying the strictures of the *Motu Proprio* on modern music therefore is to oblige church composers to revive strict counterpoint according to the polyphonic technique. Too much gratitude and praise cannot be given by Catholics for the encouragement given to this revival by the tours in recent years of the Sistine Choirs. The diocesan committees also, as ordered by the *Motu Proprio*, have done much towards reform in many parts of the world. Yet there will be some choirmasters who will think it not worth while to reform music at the cost of a revolution. Others in charge of provincial choirs may think themselves justified by the supposed difficulty of performing polyphony in evading the legislation. Our practical conclusion then will be to suggest a compromise for those who are against radical measures. Following are ten

directive rules to guide choirmasters in their choice of Masses and motets for Benediction :—

(i) Insist that the words, especially if unfamiliar, be distinguishable by the hearers, at least when the piece is well performed.

(ii) Insist upon artistic excellence, according to the laws of musical beauty.

(iii) Avoid music of a sweet or lyrical character.

(iv) Let the music be unaccompanied on the organ, or at least let the organ accompaniment be rather an embellishment than an integral part of the composition.

(v) Prefer music in which there is much conjunct motion to that in which the melody moves chiefly by leaps.

(vi) Never admit music that is more than moderately fast.

(vii) Choose music of long rhythms ; namely, music that uses cadences, especially the full close, sparingly.

(viii) Avoid carefully music that contains sharply contrasted time-values in adjacent notes.

(ix) Prefer duple to triple time.

(x) Choose music mainly devoid of dramatic climaxes or abrupt changes of key.

Ira facit versus. The writer of this article has been persuaded for years that the music sung in almost all Catholic churches falls short of the ideal of the Church. The music performed in some of them is even, looked at in itself, positively irreverent to the Blessed Sacrament ; for it distracts the minds of worshippers from the liturgy and attracts them to itself. Needless to say he does not charge those responsible for the music with irreverence. At most their fault is want of taste or of acquaintance with the mind of the Church in this matter. Nevertheless the objective fact remains that this unecclesiastical music is being performed everywhere. And the matter calls urgently for a remedy. Musicians with an exaggerated sense of the dignity of music may protest against these opinions as pedantic. But sacred music is performed for the sake of religion. Religion has not been established for the sake of music. The majority of men are not primarily musicians. Many are not musicians at all. And for these too Christ died. ARTHUR LITTLE.

THE RETURN OF THE IRISH FRANCISCANS TO LOUVAIN, 1606–1925

BY BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

THE Franciscan College of St. Anthony at Louvain was one of the most important centres of Irish religion and learning on the Continent. It was established in 1606 by Fr. Florence Conry, the Irish scholar and patriot, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, his purpose being to set up a noviceship and a house of studies for the Irish Franciscan Friars lately driven from Donegal, their last regular house of studies at home.

Philip the Third of Spain became Patron of the College, endowing it on September 21, 1606, with a perpetual annual grant of one thousand crowns. On April 3, 1607, Pope Paul the Fifth issued the Bull of Foundation, and in the month of May following the first Friars, with Fr. Donagh Mooney as Superior, went into residence. Their beginnings were humble. A house was rented " near the chapel of St. Anthony the Abbot," from which, after about three years, they removed to another in the Place St. Jacques. Their poverty was such that they could not even supply the wine and candles necessary for the celebration of their Masses. Ten years later, however, they were able to move into permanent quarters. On May 27, 1616, a piece of ground was bought near the south-east corner of the town, permission was obtained from the authorities to demolish or adapt portion of the twelfth-century ramparts standing upon it, and a new College and Chapel, the buildings now existing, were commenced by Fr. Hugh McCaughwell, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. The Archduke Albert and his Consort Isabella, at that time Governors of the Low Countries, laid the foundation stone on May 9, 1617. A Company of Irish

soldiers stationed at Ostende, in the service of Spain, under Captain James Gernon, contributed generously towards the expenses, and it may be safely conjectured that the other Irish Companies then serving in Belgium under the Earl of Tyrone helped in a similar manner.

The College soon became the recognised centre of Irish life in Belgium, and it was no doubt on this account that the great Hugh O'Neill visited Louvain, and remained there so long on his way to Rome in 1607-8. His sons, Sean and Brian, were left in the College to be educated by the Fathers, and the two young O'Donnells, Aodh, the son of Ruairi, and Aodh, the son of Cathbarr, at first placed under the care of the Augustinian Canonesses in Louvain, were, as soon as their age permitted, transferred to St. Anthony's, also to be educated there. The Fathers of the College likewise served as official chaplains to the Irish troops of Colonel Henry O'Neill and his successors in Flanders.

The sanctuary of the College Chapel became the burying-place of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, and so continued the traditions of Donegal. For this reason it must be considered especially sacred by all Irishmen. There, near the high-altar, lie the bodies of Nuala and of Margaret, the sisters of Hugh Roe O'Donnell; of Daniel O'Donnell, their nephew, and of young Hugh, the son of Cathbarr. Brian O'Neill, murdered at Brussels by an English agent, was buried there in 1617, and so later on was Rose O'Docharty, the wife of Owen Roe O'Neill. Many other illustrious Irish exiles were buried in the College cloisters, among them the Irish Dominican Bishop, Dominic de Burgo, and Major Lynch, of the Lynches of Galway.

The College soon began to display literary activity and to distinguish itself for its learning. Almost immediately after its foundation Fr. Bonaventure O'Hussey published at Antwerp, in 1608, his Irish Catechism, the first Catholic book ever printed in Irish. In 1611 an Irish

printing press was set up in the College itself, and remained long in service. The type cast for its use has been described as " the first legitimate printed Irish letter, for it was designed by Irish scholars from Irish manuscripts."[1] In a petition to the Governors of the Low Countries, dated September 9, 1617, Fr. Donagh Mooney stated that the Fathers were accustomed to send annually to Ireland " printed books which they compose for the greater edification of the Catholics and the confusion of heretics " ; and he asked and obtained that all such books should be allowed out of the country free of duty.

But it was in the field of Irish history especially that the College was to become famous, and it is well known and recognised that in this respect no other Irish College on the Continent did such solid and lasting work. We have only to recall the names of Fr. Hugh Ward, Fr. Patrick Fleming, and Fr. John Colgan.

Fr. Hugh Ward, who had entered the Franciscan Order at Salamanca in 1616 at the instance of Fr. Luke Wadding, was assigned to St. Anthony's, at Louvain, in March, 1622, and seems to have taken up his residence there in the year following. He tells us himself that he was the son of Owen Ward, of Letter (in Donegal), and of Mary ni Clery. He had, therefore, in his veins, apparently from both sides, the blood of generations of Ireland's most famous historians. He himself had conceived, even before his arrival at Louvain, the idea of collecting and publishing the material for the lives of the Irish Saints, and may justly on this account be styled the Bollandus of Ireland. Unfortunately, his own labours were cut short before his plans could be realised. His duties in the College as Professor, first of Philosophy and later of Theology, left him but little leisure, but he had finished a life of St. Romuald, and had commenced several other works of importance, in the hope of finishing them when the manuscripts he required should come from

[1] Lynam : *Irish Character in Print*, p. 293.

the country at the time of the suppression, not a single one existed. Donegal, the last, had been dispersed on August 10, 1601. The Fathers of the Province who still survived were scattered in twos or threes in places of refuge, and, while they grew old and decrepit, they could receive no new recruits, on account of the danger, and of the impossibility of training them at home. The Irish boy who saw the ruins of the old abbeys and felt the call of St. Francis had to leave his country and apply for admittance to some community abroad. Numbers had done so, and they were to be found all over the Continent, lost to Ireland. The foundation of St. Anthony's brought about a great change. The exiles flocked back to it as to their real home, from Spain particularly, and an Irish community was soon formed there, as numerous and as vigorous as any in Ireland in the old days. Even from its earliest years the College supported and educated some forty students of Philosophy and Theology. In 1625, when the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore was founded in Rome by Fr. Luke Wadding, Louvain was already able to supply both professors and students, and thus ensure its success. In 1629 it founded, itself, the Irish Franciscan College at Prague, and again supplied, at the beginning, both students and professors. As early as 1619 it had founded a small but active mission in Scotland, which worked with great success, particularly in the Hebrides, under the direction of Fr. Patrick Brady and Fr. Cornelius Ward. Besides all this, the College could claim in 1630, twenty-four years after its foundation, that in addition to having trained eighteen professors of Theology and twenty-five professors of Philosophy, many of whom held chairs in different countries, it had given to the Irish Church three Archbishops (Fr. Florence Conry of Tuam, Fr. Hugh McCaughwell of Armagh, and Fr. Thomas Fleming of Dublin), two Bishops (Fr. Boetius Egan of Elphin, and Fr. Bonaventure Maginnis of Down and Conor), and sixty-three ordinary missionaries, some

of whom had already, at that date, suffered imprisonment or death for the Faith. Fr. John Cathan, who received the habit of the Order at Louvain on November 29, 1615, was captured at Buttevant and imprisoned at Limerick until his death in 1622. It is one of the principal glories of the College that on the list of Irish Servants of God whose beatification as martyrs is at present being promoted in Rome, it can claim, besides Fr. Cathan, seven other priests and one lay-brother, Fr. Francis O'Mahony, Fr. William Hickey, Fr. Haymo Stafford, Fr. John Kearney, Fr. Walter Walsh, Fr. Nicholas Wogan, Fr. Bernard Conny, and Brother Didacus Cheevers.

The good work of the College was continued during almost two centuries in the face of enormous difficulties. The state of poverty, in particular, seems to have been heart-rending and almost uninterrupted. From the very commencement the royal alms, which should have been the chief means of support, was rarely given when due and was often even many years in arrear. It is reasonable to suppose that some assistance, besides that given for the buildings, was received from the Irish soldiers serving in the Spanish army in Belgium, particularly as there is still extant the official permission, granted to the Superior on October 26, 1628, to bring to the College free of duty from Sant Vliet two barrels of salt fish, given by the Irish Captains stationed there, for the approaching November to Christmas fast observed in the Franciscan Order. Supplies from Ireland itself were at times cut off completely, particularly during the wars, so that usually the only means of support was what could be begged from door to door through the villages of Belgium. There were times when the creditors were clamorous, and catastrophe seemed imminent. Nevertheless, it can be claimed with all modesty that, in spite of all this, St. Anthony's did at least as much for Ireland as any other of our national colleges abroad, and it is no doubt for this reason that the name of Louvain has become almost a household word amongst us.

The French Revolution put an end to this institution as to many others similar. On Thursday morning, January 31, 1793, an armed guard of the Republic appeared at the door, and the Commissary proceeded at once to make an inventory and affix his seals. Fr. James Cowan, the last Superior, did everything in his power to preserve and restore the College, even buying it back when it was put up for sale by the Republican authorities on May 6, 1797. He appears to have remained on the spot during all the dangers of the Revolution, and we owe it to him that the main part of the College archives was saved, together with the invaluable Irish manuscripts which now enrich the library of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin. He also secured the best part of the College library, which was later transferred by his secretary, Fr. Francis Walsh, to the Franciscan Library at Wexford. Beyond this, however, all his efforts, truly heroic though they were and continued throughout thirty years, were of no avail, and the property passed definitely out of his hands on June 27, 1822.

The Irish Franciscan Fathers always desired to recover this house, as they looked upon it, not only as one of their own most sacred shrines, but as an Irish national sanctuary. When it was recently made known to them by a distinguished Irish ecclesiastic, a friend of Cardinal Mercier, that the property was again for sale, and that his Eminence offered them a most cordial welcome back to his diocese and to their old home, they availed unhesitatingly of the opportunity of purchase. It is practically certain that had they not done so this hallowed spot would have passed for ever into the hands of strangers, perhaps to be dismantled and its every vestige destroyed. The negotiations were long, and not always hopeful, but on March 2nd of this year the legal formalities were completed and St. Anthony's became Irish again. May it ever remain so, and render to the Irish people services worthy of its glorious past.

BRENDAN JENNINGS.

HUMANISM AND MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE

I—The Spirit and the Flesh

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James H. Leuba: *The Psychology of Religious Mysticism.* London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 15*s.* net.
Jean Baruzi: *St. Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique.* Paris: Alcan. 1924. 40 frs.

CAN we construct a psychology of mysticism without postulating the existence of God and an immortal soul, or can we treat mystical experience as the ultimate sublimation of normal cenceptual thought? Professor Leuba has attempted to supply an affirmative answer to the former, and Dr. Baruzi, if we have not misread his monumental monograph on St. John of the Cross, has essayed the latter. They represent respectively the left and right wings of the humanist party, of that variegated group of thinkers who would explain all religious phenomena as they would explain art and science. Man is the measure of all things, and his experience, be it religious or secular, must be explained humanistically. But if we tackle the problems of religious experience on purely humanist lines, it is difficult to confine our agnosticism within the limits of mere method. It is difficult to ignore without denying, for in ignoring we necessarily transform values. Don Juan gives his alms "pour l'amour de l'humanité."

Much that is in Professor Leuba's book will give deep offence to Catholics. It is difficult, for instance, to find any excuses for the tone of section 4 of Chap. V. The influence of the sex-impulse on mystical experience is a very scabrous subject to treat of; but the treatment might be comparatively inoffensive if severely scientific

in tone, unqualified by any appreciations of moral values. Professor Leuba is insufficiently agnostic ; he ignores God, but he retains sub-consciously the Puritan prejudice against religious virginity. Although he phrases this prejudice in the technical jargon of the psycho-pathologist he does not hide it, and we get the impression of polite sectarian insolence rather than scientific indifference to religious feeling.

Professor Leuba is an able representative of the left wing of humanist critics of mystical experience. Less extravagant is his " medical materialism " than Binet-Sanglé, he is still quite uncompromising, and censures William James for his broad-minded admission that mystical experience might possibly be authoritative. One wonders what that lamented American philosopher would have said to Leuba's position that " the truth-kernel of religious ecstasy is, as we have shown, no other than the truth-kernel of narcotic intoxication and of ecstatic trance in general." Would he have recognised that his favourite device for analogating disparate psychic states on a higher level by collating their likenesses on a lower plane, analogy by reduction, was a fallacy ? Where James stopped and hesitated, Leuba goes full speed ahead and uses the methods of the author of *Varieties of Religious Experience* to rehabilitate the medical materialism James ridiculed.

It is very difficult to gather from Dr. Baruzi's work what is the author's philosophical and theological standpoint. Is he a Catholic, a Modernist or a representative of that semi-official school of French philosophy which might be described as a culture of the bacillus Cartesius in an imperfectly sterilized Hegelian bouillon ? His picture of the personality of St. John of the Cross is one full of sympathetic interest. The text of St. John of the Cross he studies with the most minute care backed by a very remarkable erudition. His interpretations of the text and his expositions of St. John's doctrine aim at complete objectivity, to set forth the author's mind and

meaning. To this task Dr. Baruzi brings immense industry; he seems to have measured every comma of the texts, scrutinized all the variants and weighed every phrase. He has soaked his mind in the period. Had he but a sympathetic understanding of scholastic philosophy and theology, not a mere learned outsider's view, his book would have been an unqualified masterpiece. His lack of this sympathetic understanding of the key to St. John's teaching has been his undoing. As Father Zimmerman, O.D.C., has pointed out in the *Tablet*, the picture Dr. Baruzi draws of St. John of the Cross represents him as a pantheist! One might add that it was fortunate for Spain that the enemies of St. John were unable to make the Spanish Inquisition take this view. Dr. Baruzi's book would have been a terrible brief in the hands of those unreformed Carmelites who were fighting to wreck the Teresian reform.

How comes it that a scholar so learned, so industrious, so sympathetic in his appreciation of the great mystical doctor of Carmel, can so deform a body of doctrine studied for years with such loving care? The answer lies in the old maxim of the Schools: *Quidquid recipitur, recipitur per modum recipientis.* A man's fundamental philosophy, his cosmic outlook, cannot but affect his interpretation of the author he studies. A critic is an artist, he must see his author through his own personality if his criticism is to be a work of art. With the utmost goodwill he may strive to write objectively, to present his author as he is, to keep his own views in reserve; yet, despite his efforts, his own view on fundamentals must colour his exposition. He will reject or minimize what is discordant with his own system, he will emphasise and develop points with which he is in sympathy. It is difficult, if not impossible, to be thoroughly on one's guard against personal prejudice especially in fundamentals.

Although Dr. Baruzi and Professor Leuba are leagues apart in their manner and modes of thought, they have,

it seems to the present writer, one common principle in dealing with mystical experience. Both regard it as a sublimation of normal human experience. Leuba seems to regard it as a sublimation, *more Freudiano*, of our lower energies, Baruzi as a sublimation by abstraction of our higher conceptual thought. Both deny that mystical experience is specifically different from our ordinary psychic processes, both reject the supernatural. If this is so, if mystical experience is but the sublimation of our sensations, emotions or even our highest concepts of reality, the conviction of all the great Christian mystics as to the transcendental character of their experience was but illusion ; beneficent, perhaps, at times, as even Leuba admits, but illusion all the same. Illusion or metanoesis, that is the question.

The following passage from Alvarez de Paz quoted by Poulain in his *Grâces d'Oraison* (Chap. XVIII, §78) will give us some idea of what is the fundamental problem for the psychologist in mystical experience :—

Thus furnished and strengthened by the highest help, the *mind sees God.* It does not accomplish this by *denying* or withdrawing anything from Him, as when we say : God is not limited, not finite. Neither is it *by affirming* something of Him, attributing it to Him, as when we say : God is good and wise. But it is by *regarding* the divine greatness without any admixture of anything else, in the tranquillity of a calm day. Certainly, oh reader, when you see the light with the bodily eyes, you do not arrive thereat by a comparison of ideas, as when we say : " Light is not darkness," or " It is a quality." You simply see the light. In the same way the soul, in this degree of contemplation, affirms nothing, denies nothing, attributes nothing, avoids nothing ; but in complete repose *she sees God.* It will be said : This is astonishing, or rather unbelievable. For we take it as indisputable that God is not seen here intuitively. If then the soul does not see God, how can we say, nevertheless, that she sees Him ; and if she sees Him, in what sense is it that she does not see Him ? I admit that it is astonishing. The fact, however, is very certain. . . . . In this supernatural manner the soul knows God in the depths of her being, and *she sees Him*, so to say, more clearly than she sees the material light with the eyes of the body.

Here we have the analysis of the fundamental experience of obscure contemplation by an experienced mystic who was also a cautious theologian. He presents us with a type of apprehension which is a *real seeing* yet not an *intuition* in the strict philosophic sense. That this apprehension is direct, immediate, *sine medio*, is such a commonplace with mystical writers that Poulain was led to make "The presence of God felt" the discriminant character of mystical experience. If we accept the statements of the great Christian mystics as to their own personal experience, and we have no other evidence to go by in such a matter, we must accept the results of their introspections as facts to be fitted as best we can into the scheme of our philosophy. This does not bind us to an uncritical attitude as to the meaning, implication and validity of such evidence. But our criticism must be grounded on the totality of the evidence before us. What the mystics thought and felt we can only gather from their own declarations; to reconstruct their states of mind on preconceived behaviourist principles is to treat them as "dumb driven cattle." The following extracts from Professor Leuba's book will serve to show the startling results achieved by the latter process :—

> The reader will recall that the *desire* [italics mine] to attract attention and to play a distinguished rôle is written large in the autobiographies of Santa Teresa and of Mme. Guyon. It is hardly necessary to add that, after all, humility, in the sense of a genuine rejection of admiration, is not possible to man and that no sort of greatness can be achieved by one devoid of ambition and of moral energy. Moral worth is not measured by the absence of these traits but by the purposes which they serve . . . . . (p. 121).

> In a preceding chapter we came without surprise to the conclusion that, despite the drastic measures to which they had recourse, Mme. Guyon and St. Teresa never reached their goal, and that the degree of sanctification attained by them did not seem to have been greater than it is in thousands of other inconspicuous Christians and non-Christians. The energy of self-assertiveness to which they owe in part their fame was the main obstacle to the

elimination of self-seeking. Not only did they not reach their goal, but they were not morally clear-sighted enough to be aware of their failure (p. 131).

What a Promotor Fidei is wasted at Bryn Mawr College! But where are we to stop if we are free, not to interpret, but to interpolate meanings into psychological documents? If the study of mystical experience is to be psychological, it must rely on these documents; for they supply the only evidence available as to the mental phenomena of the mystics. If the psychologist is himself a mystic, he may work by direct introspection, as doubtless St. John of the Cross and other mystical doctors did; but the "profane" student can only deal with the introspections of others. The director of mystics can study their minds more directly than through written texts, as Poulain and others have done and are doing. These living documents are, of course, of enormous value as they can be controlled; but unless the mystics directed are extraordinary privileged souls, the data they will supply will be strictly limited in quality and quantity, and we must fall back on the great written records for the bulk of the material necessary. Now these documents, such as the writings of St. Teresa, are of exceptional value from the unquestioned moral character of their authors. *Pace* Leuba we can rely on them as truthful statements made by men and women of prayer, who shunned the applause of men, who revealed their interior states with intense reluctance, and whose whole lives testified to an ardent love of truth, an heroic humility.

Where witnesses of such value are in substantial agreement in their description of mystical states, we need more than mere improbability to cause us to reject their evidence; we need to be satisfied à priori of the impossibility of their statements. It is not enough to show that hallucination is possible, we must prove it to be necessary. God must be either non-existent or impotent to reveal Himself to man. If the mystical

apprehension of the Divinity is conceivably possible, the concurrent testimony of the great Christian mystics should surely be satisfactory evidence that it has occurred in fact.

Professor Leuba draws the line of demarcation between the illusionary and realist theories of mysticism very neatly in the following question : " Is there in mysticism an intuition, a direct knowledge of Reality, to which reason cannot attain, and, if there is, what is the value to man of that revelation ? " (p. 240). To this question the agnostic will give an unqualified negative answer and the Christian philosopher a qualified affirmative. In general the former will deny, the latter assert the transcendental character of the experience. This sharp dichotomy, however, shades off into views less markedly defined. There is a greater gulf, perhaps, between Leuba and Baruzi than between Baruzi and say Molinos. If we group together thinkers who regard mystical experience as a sublimation of normal human feeling and thought, we would include not merely Messrs. Leuba and Baruzi, but many orthodox if minimizing theologians. A triple division might be more accurate : (1) Those who regard the phenomena of obscure contemplation described by St. John of the Cross not only as the effect of a transcendent cause, but as transcending psychologically our normal psychic processes. (2) Those who admit a transcendent cause but practically at least deny any psychological (as apart from moral) transcendence of the effect. (3) Those who deny all transcendency and claim to explain mystical experience humanistically. Groups (2) and (3) would regard the experience in itself as a sublimation of the normal, (2) accepting and (3) rejecting a divine cause, and we may therefore, for our present purpose, take these together as one group claiming to explain the mental processes of the mystic as we would explain those of the poet or the philosopher.

Now explanation is the accommodation of a fact or

group of facts or events to a system of thought by means of some adequate hypothesis. It is a living definition of the thing explained, the system of thought supplying the proximate genus and the hypothesis the specific difference. A perfect explanation would be identical with the logical definition which gives us the quiddity of the thing explained; our system of thought and our hypothesis combined would give us a complete and satisfactory rationale of the fact. But how seldom science achieves this perfection! Too often the system of thought is too wide or too narrow, too vague or too limited; too often the hypothesis is no true specific difference, it is common to other events or facts, or it is vague, metaphorical, uncertain, arbitrary, narrow, not having regard for the fact or event or group of events in their totality. If we are free to pick and choose the aspect under which we view the facts when we frame our hypothesis, we can fit any fact into any system with a little ingenuity, but we can hardly expect others to be satisfied with a view that does not cover the whole ground in question. A trance will explain the resurrection of Lazarus if we omit that aspect of the total event: "Jam foetet."

To explain, we must fit the facts as a whole into a system; otherwise we get a description but not an explanation. Mere description will not give us the "Why" or the "Wherefore" without an implied system of thought, philosophy, cosmic outlook. And we must fit the facts to our system without letting our system bully the facts: we must not face the inconvenient event with a closed mind. Bigotry and obscurantism are not the monopoly of the devout Christian; your dyed-in-the-wool rationalist can be just as narrow minded when his philosophy encounters an indigestible fact. Systematic thought is necessary for all real explanation, but its snare is the temptation to distort the facts explained.

From the point of view of the psychologist we may

divide the phenomena of mystical experience into three great groups :—

(1) All those concomitants of mystical prayer which chiefly affect the bodily functions, the circulation of the blood, the brain, the nervous system, etc.

(2) Phenomena of a psychic character ; sensations, emotions, images, concepts, volitions.

(3) Phenomena which transcend or appear to transcend normal pyschic processes and yet to have analogies with them.

In the first group we would include, for instance, all those phenomena of ecstasy which bear such a striking analogy to various morbid conditions, catalepsy, hyperæsthesia, insensibilities, etc. The second would include what mystical writers term visions and locutions, whether hallucinatory or veridical, and all happenings reducible to normal psychic process. We would restrict to the third that most interesting and vitally important group of phenomena belonging to the obscure type of contemplation described by St. John of the Cross, where normal human thought is, or at least appears to be, transcended. We propose terming this group *metanoetic* to indicate this transcendence of normal intelligence.

Our general system of thought will influence us most profoundly in the view we take of these three groups and the relative values we attach to them. To the medical materialist group (1) will seem most important, as linking mystical experience with the morbid psychoses. To the psychologist who worships the " clear idea " group (2) will seem most worthy of attention, as linking mystical with normal thought. By both group (3) will be explained on a hallucinatory hypothesis, as an idealization of coenesthesic trouble, as an approach by negativism to an idealistic absolute, as a sublimated symbolism of our cosmic outlook. To some Christians this group will seem full of dangerous possibilities, of illusion at best, and of

heresy, Quietism and Modernism at worst. To others it will appear of supreme importance as revealing a true psychic "Beyond."

Our systematic prejudices too will direct very largely our methods of study. The medical materialist will affect genetic methods, tracing trance from mescal to mysticism, from Yogin to St. Teresa. James's experiments with nitrous oxide as a mystagogue will be improved upon and supplemented by Professor Leuba's neat use of behaviouristic principles and his ingenious experimental work on the "sense of presence." Texts and documents will be interpreted in the light of these processes. Those who have less distrust of introspection, like Dr. Baruzi, will concentrate on the careful interpretation of the writings of the mystics, comparing and collating them with a Benedictine industry. In their use of analogy and parallels the two schools will show a characteristic difference; the one will seek them in the hospitals, the other in the libraries. When they have to compare mystics *inter se*, Dr. Baruzi will parallel a Teresa with a John of the Cross, Professor Leuba a Madame Guyon with a Teresa. The one seeks not merely an intellectual but a moral counterpart; the other makes abstraction of morality, or perhaps his sense of moral value is purely behaviouristic. One has only to compare Madame Guyon's autobiography with that of St. Teresa to see that any parallel is simply ludicrous. No one can accuse Teresa d'Avila of the least spitefulness. But who can acquit Madame Guyon of thorough "cattyness" after reading her Life? From start to finish it lacks the charity of a saint. Yet Madame Guyon will compare most favourably with other "mystics" set in parallel with St. Teresa. Like the Pope in Portadown, St. Teresa does not seem to have an over good name in Bryn Mawr.

To sum up. For the purpose of our enquiry we may take mystical theories as falling naturally into three groups :—

I. The school of Leuba and the psycho-pathologists :

Mystical experience is fundamentally physiological and its psychic and so-called metanoetic characteristics are hallucinations.

II. The school of Delacroix and Dr. Baruzi: Mysticism is primarily psychic with physiological concomitants, and is to be explained like art and science on humanist lines. It is strictly speaking "natural."

III. Mystical experience in the strict sense of the term contains elements which transcend the "natural" powers of human intelligence.

In general the first view is based on some species of materialistic philosophy which finds a common denominator for all human faculty in chemico-physical changes. But it can also be held by thinkers who are not hard-shell materialists, but who attach undue importance to the various somatic phenomena, often frankly morbid, which accompany alleged mystical experience. Insensibilities, aphasias, amnesias, hyperaesthesias, automatisms of all sorts which characterise the psycho-neuroses may be found among genuine mystics as among neuropaths. Were St. Teresa and St. Catherine of Genoa neurotics? Father Hahn and Baron von Hügel thought so, and set a headline to Professor Leuba, but neither of these devout Catholics thought the worse of these saints for what they considered morbid accidents. We are so obsessed with hygienic solicitude, so impressed with the maxim "Mens sana in corpore sano," that we forget St. Hildegarde's retort: "The grace of God seldom dwells in a healthy body." We look on a neurotic as a degenerate, because degenerates are neurotics. A particular affirmative would be a sounder conversion! And if neurotics have certain symptoms, does it follow that all showing these symptoms are neurotics? And if certain symptoms are common to a great variety of states, can we safely apply the method of agreement if we resolutely ignore the possibility of a plurality of causes?

Professor Leuba examines trance as produced by drugs,

by the auto-hypnotic methods of the Yogin, and compares these types of trance with the ecstasy of a St. Teresa. He concludes, as against James, that "the truth-kernel of religious ecstasy is, as we have shown, no other than the truth-kernel of narcotic intoxication and of ecstatic trance in general" (p. 309). Because trance of a sort is common to the three processes, can we infer that it is the same state psychologically or morally? Leuba takes for granted that in all three cases there is an extinction of consciousness when the trance reaches its maximum, the very point in question in the case of mystical ecstasy. The proof of illusion in the case of intoxication is no *proof* against the two others; at best it is only a prejudicial argument against their veridical character. Leuba discovers many analogies between epilepsy and religious ecstasy.

> All these non-religious raptures, both the epileptic and the others, happen suddenly and unexpectedly. The subjects feel as if in the hands of external agents. They are carried away by a wave of sensations and emotions, indescribably delightful. Moreover they are under the impression that they have entered a new world, and so they speak of illumination, of revelation. We recall that these traits—*suddenness, unexpectedness, passivity, ineffability and illumination or revelation*—are the very traits which, together with beneficial moral consequences, are regarded by the Christian mystics as characteristic of true religious ecstasy.
>
> The trait most insisted on—a trait without which, according to the Roman Catholic Church, no ecstasy is a true religious ecstasy—is the revelatory, or, as the philosophers say, the noetic quality. A careful examination reveals the presence of that trait in every one of the preceding instances (p. 208).

This is a good example of Leuba's methods of assimilation. The "noetic" characteristic in the attacks of epilepsy he reports belongs to the period of the attack prior to the period of total insensibility; it does not therefore occur at the *maximum* point of the trance—a very vital difference from the records of ecstasy where we find the noetic factor deepening as the ecstasy grows in strength. Mystics regard a state of *unconsciousness* as somewhat suspect, as

probably morbid and possibly satanic. St. Teresa writes in *The Interior Castle* (IV, c. 3, § 11) :—

> Some persons, on account of their penances, prayers and vigils, or even merely because of debility of health, can receive no spiritual consolation without being overcome by it. On feeling any interior joy, their bodies become languid and weak ; then they fall into a slumber—they call it spiritual sleep—which is a more advanced stage of what I have described. They think the soul shares in it as well as the body, and abandon themselves to a sort of intoxication. The more they lose self-control, the more do their feelings get possession of them, because the body grows more feeble. They fancy this is a trance and call it one, but I call it nonsense ; it does nothing but waste their time and injure their health.

Further on, after describing the effects of ecstasy, she writes :—

> The effects in false raptures are very different. I do not call them " false " because people who have them intentionally deceive others, but because, unwittingly, they are themselves deceived. As the signs and effects do not correspond with this great mercy, the favour itself becomes so discredited that with good reason, when Our Lord afterwards bestows it on any soul, nobody believes in it (VI, c. 4, § 22).

Mystics and their directors in St. Teresa's day were not quite so guileless as Professor Leuba seems to think. The characteristics he underlines in the passage above need a large accompaniment of a characteristic he does not underline, " together with beneficial moral consequences," to be deemed satisfactory. It was the pragmatic test which was the ruling one : was there progress in humility and other virtues ? This is a mere commonplace of Catholic spirituality. As we have seen, Professor Leuba does not believe in humility, except perhaps of the Uriah Heep order, and so this test would not satisfy him perhaps, but as a negative test he might admit its force. If one claims to have received an exceptional favour from God and is not the better for it, surely the claim is illusory even on the purely psychological plane ? There must be something wrong with even an auto-suggestion which does not work.

It is these pragmatic tests, to be found described in Poulain or any other manual of mystical theology, which can save us from confounding mystical experience with epileptic phenomena. A devout person who suffers from a brief attack of *petit mal* in the course of some particularly fervent prayer may, if inexperienced, fancy that the strange psychic blank is an ecstasy and proceed to "write it up" from his memories of his states before and after, further enriched by his views on religion in general and mystical ecstasy in particular. He may thus mythologize a mild fit and feed fat on illusion. Even the more experienced and learned may readily mistake a brief morbid suspension of consciousness for St. Teresa's prayer of union, her Fifth Mansion, or at least a very high degree of mystical quietude, the suspension of the powers of the soul. Given a little morbid euphoria with a touch of mythomania and you have all the essentials to explain ecstasy as Professor Leuba understands it.

> There is no evidence that the primary conscious facts in the experiences of M. E., of St. Paul, and of Symonds differed in any essential way from those of the unusual epileptic auræ reported above. But *they were differently interpreted.* M. E. and St. Paul regarded their ecstasy as the work of God. That interpretation transfigured the primary experience and made of it a religious ecstasy (p. 213).

Not only epilepsy, both in *grand mal* and *petit mal*, but epileptoid phenomena in hysteria, psychasthenia and other psychoneuroses, those psychic blanks to be found in hypnosis and hypnoidal states, such as Zoga concentration, or even in the intoxications produced by alcohol, hascheesh, mescal, nitrous oxide, etc., may all be interpreted by the victim as divine visitations. A touch of mythomania will enable him to write up the experience on the defective tablets of his memory. The pre-blank dream-thought will become a revelation, its flitting images impressive visions, he will hear ineffable words in a heaven created by the euphoria of abnormal endocrine stimulation

These new " humors " of the ductless glands may spread black melancholy or blinding illumination for the unconscious mythomaniac, he will have all the " feelings " credited to ecstasy on the strength of the descriptive writings of the mystics, particularly those of the second order.

But we can hardly fail to note in the description of these pseudo-mystical states an abundance of vague rhetoric, a wordiness which covers a poverty of observation, showing pretty clearly that the experience has been " written-up." Mme. Guyon hides the indigence of her experience with an immense affluence of words. Deceived by her volubility Professor Leuba is not singular in attributing to her writings an importance as mystical documents they do not merit. We are not at all disposed to agree with Père Poulain (*Grâces d'Oraison*, Chap. XVI, § 38) as to her autobiography being a sincere work ; we cannot say of her " Quia non cognovi litteraturam." It seems to us very doubtful if her personal experience ever went beyond the " prayer of simplicity " as described by Père Poulain, but she knew how to write it up. Being a very smart woman she contrived to set Bossuet and Fenelon by the ears, to shorten the days of the former and wreck the career of the latter. to discredit the Beauvilliers and almost compromise the astute and austere Mme. de Maintenon. She played for high stakes ; if the Duc de Bourgogne had lived she might have ruled France through the Archbishop of Cambrai, for she kept her hold, as his spiritual Egeria, to the very end.

Mlle. Vé, another " mystic " whom Professor Leuba sets up in comparison with St. Teresa, describes her states with extraordinary care and frankness in her communications to Professor Flournoy. She suffered from terrible sex-obsessions and consulted Flournoy to obtain deliverance. These obsessions were combined and interwoven with religious experiences of a " mystical " type. She wrote to Flournoy careful relations of her states, and

with her permission he published these narratives. Leuba quotes largely from them to show the connection between sex and mystical experience. Mlle. Vé was a pious Protestant, faced with a terrible moral problem and deprived of those resources which a Catholic in similar trouble would have had; the sacraments backed by a spiritual direction which could distinguish between temptation and disease. Leuba talks of her suffering from attacks of nymphomania (p. 185), when he probably means only severe temptation and not that most miserable form of insanity. A Catholic director would have told Mlle. Vé that many saints had had to face worse trouble of the same kind, like St. Frances of Rome, St. Alphonsus Rodriguez and countless other servants of God. Left to her own resources, and "despite the deepest aversion, she had to recognise the participation of sex in ecstatic trances which had been for her a revelation of the love of God" (p. 146). This ground of impurity in her religious experiences was so forced on her attention in what she called her Twelfth Ecstasy (p. 148) that she realised, what any good director would have shown her at the beginning, that her ecstatic experiences were illusions of the unclean spirit. She had to find out this for herself at the almost certain risk of the loss of religious faith and perhaps utter moral collapse. What an argument for the discipline of the confessional!

Mlle. Vé's descriptions of the "mystical" side of her experiences have that vague touch which would suggest to the experienced director the play of fantasy describing cloudy emotional states rather than a real divine touch. The note of the unclean would be the decisive pragmatic test, but not for Professor Leuba. To him "no pleasure is in itself base or debasing. It is only through its direct effect upon the body or through the meaning or significance ascribed to it, that it may become so. In so far as a pleasurable state is interpreted as an effect of the divine Presence, it becomes a source of moral energy even though

it should arise from the stimulation of the sex-organs " (p. 152). A precisely similar opinion was justly stigmatised six centuries ago by St. Bonaventure as a blasphemous lie (*De profectu religionis*, Book II, cap. LXXV *ad finem*). That religious emotion can often disturb the sensuality is a commonplace of ascetical and mystical theology ; the converse is a modern discovery of our psycho-analysts ! If Professor Leuba had read the chapter of St. Bonaventure just referred to, and a rather terrible chapter on the virtue of Charity in the *Visions and Instructions of Blessed Angela of Foligno*, he would have realised that there is nothing new under the sun. In those days of " mediaeval ignorance and superstition " marriage was regarded as a sacrament, a state in itself most holy, a type of the union of Christ and His Church, of God and the soul. Two human beings became one in a union that death alone could break, that they might become the instruments of the Most High in giving life, that the number of the elect might be filled up. Such a union, to fulfil the designs of God in instituting and sanctifying marriage, called for no merely carnal love, but for a total affection, a living charity between the spouses, a perfect sympathy of the whole person each for the other. It meant a life of love, not of tolerated lust ; and hence to the mediaeval saint, mystical images and analogies based on marital love had not the " nastiness " which Professor Leuba finds in them. The poison gas which Luther's theory of invincible concupiscence has spread over the modern world has infected us all. We want a little of the mediaeval wholesomeness, but we are not willing to pay the price : self-denial. We want self-assertion, we worship self-expression, but we pay the price in the slavery of the spirit to the works of the flesh.

John Howley.

CHRONICLE

Catholic Internationalism

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

A conference which may prove to be the first step in a movement of world-wide importance concluded its deliberations at Oxford on August the 15th. For Ireland as in the main a Catholic country, and as a country that in the past has suffered much from isolation, this conference possesses a peculiar importance. The Irish public is not, I think, very well informed regarding the efforts that have been made during the past few years with a view to drawing Catholics together in some sort of international entente, and even into definite international organisations. I will, therefore, I hope, be pardoned if, in explaining how this conference came about, I go back a little. To render this explanation really satisfactory, I should have to relate with some fulness the history of the four chief Catholic organisations which met at this conference for the first time. Such a task being impossible in the space at my disposal I must confine myself to a brief outline.

We must go back to 1917. In those dark days of war, neutral Switzerland was a veritable focus of intriguers, propagandists, and spies. It was a refuge for the victims of war, the wounded, the prisoner, the expelled, the political exile. Naturally it was the starting point for endless abortive negotiations and "peace offensives." Men were sick to death of war and caught at any straw in the hopes of ending it.

Catholics suffered like the rest of the world, and, for more reasons than one, yet more than the rest. And like the rest of the world they too longed for peace. It was in this atmosphere that a group of Catholics, for the most part Swiss, came together in the Catholic University town of Fribourg to study the trend of events and see what could be done. Their conversations resulted in the foundation of *L'Union Catholique d'Etudes Internationales*. Since its formation much excellent work has been accomplished by this group. It has held conferences at Paris in 1920 and 1921[1]; at Fribourg in 1922; at Milan in 1923. The meeting at Milan resulted in a reorganisation which widened the scope and enhanced the efficiency of the Union,

[1] At this Conference Ireland was represented, and a discussion on the Anglo-Irish problem took place.

by this time thoroughly international. Its main aim continued to be *study*, the principal object of which was the League of Nations, for it was of enormous importance to the Catholic World that the League should be given an orientation which should render it not a menace but a new force, working like the Church for the peace and welfare of the world. But, if the main aim was study, this study was not to result in barren theory : it was meant to bear immediate fruit in action. Before long, three members of the Union were elected by the Council of the League of Nations to act on the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation—a noteworthy achievement.

Meantime other scattered desires of co-operation among Catholics, other longings for lasting peace were crystallizing into a new organisation. It first became coherent at Graz in Austria about 1920, but subsequently headquarters were removed to Zug in Switzerland. The organisation was named the *International Catholic League*, and was familiarly known as Ika (its initials in Esperanto). Its watchwords were Unity and Peace. It held a series of Congresses in which representatives of many European nations took part, the German and Slav peoples being well represented. Men belonging to nations but recently at deadly strife met in friendly intercourse, and wrestled earnestly with the problems confronting them all as Catholics. Thus at Constance in 1923, Germans and Frenchmen, Austrians and Italians, did not hesitate to grapple with even the most dangerous problems, such as Franco-German relations and the existing dangers to peace, as well as with such questions as Freemasonry, the Press, the Foreign Missions, Emigration, Education, the menace of the film, and so forth. Many distinguished ecclesiastics took part in these deliberations.

The Catholic Church has achieved an internationality beyond the wildest dreams of socialists or cosmopolitan theorists. Rome is the seat of the mightiest *Internationale* the world has ever seen. But this internationalism is almost purely religious in its scope, and it is clear that there remain all but unlimited possibilities of progress in co-operation between Catholics in other spheres. And such co-operation makes for strength. With a view to create a sort of clearing-house for Catholic activities, to secure co-ordination and avoid over-lapping, an Office was created at Rome a few years ago, *L'Office International des Organisations Catholiques*. Its labours have resulted in, among other things, the compilation of a most valuable *Manual of Catholic Organisations* which was published last year in six languages.

Finally, an organisation of still more recent formation is the

Catholic Council for International Relations founded at Reading in 1923. It consists of representatives of all the principal Catholic bodies in England. Its aim is "to put before Catholics of all parties and and all classes the long-neglected teaching of the Catholic Church concerning the Mutual Rights and Duties of Nations as members of the great human family; the place of the Holy Father in world affairs; and the obligation of Catholics to use their influence to the end that in international relations justice shall prevail." Further it aspires "to provide a channel of communication between the various branches of Catholic Action in this country and those in other lands." Its work abroad is to encourage the formation of similar Councils in other countries, and the co-ordination of all these national groups in a single Union to support the Holy Father in restoring "The Peace of Christ."

It is to this English Council that is due the credit for bringing about the Catholic Conference at Oxford, and much of the credit for its success. Ika was asked to hold at Oxford its Annual Congress with the usual papers and discussions, committees, religious functions, and social events. But the Circular convening the Conference foreshadowed what proved to be the real business of the gathering. In a nutshell the point at issue was this: Why *three* internationales? A moment's reflection will show the delicacy and danger of such a debate. But it was courageously undertaken.

Representatives of some twenty-seven nations responded to the call, and the gathering was a motley one. Ireland was represented by two delegates of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, and one of the Knights of St. Columbanus. One of the principal papers was confided to Professor J. M. O'Sullivan of the National University. And several other Irishmen were present.[1] The United States and Australia were officially represented. China, Japan, India, Egypt, Chili, Mexico, Latvia, French Canada and Lithuania had delegates. But Poland, Spain, and Holland were unrepresented. There were a considerable number of Germans, and German was much spoken at the Sessions. Several of the delegates present represented organisations pursuing particular aims, but international in character, such as *Pax Romana*, an international students' organisation; *Le règne Social de Jésus-Christ* of Paray le Monial; the *Bulletin Catholique International*; and the *Internationale Caritasunion*.

The subject set before the Conference for its discussions was "Catholic Principles Concerning Race and Nationality." When

[1] The writer was pleased and surprised at the warm sympathy for Ireland manifested by a great number of the delegates.

it is said that this general subject included such questions as the Principle of Nationalities, Nationality as a claim to Political Sovereignty, The Rights of Racial Minorities, and the Christian Doctrine of Rebellion and War, it will be seen that it fairly bristled with danger points. In actual fact feeling seldom manifested itself; one could even have wished at times for a little more animation in the discussions. In any case it was forbidden to deal with particular concrete problems and to name names. The papers were read and the debates held in the fine hall of Wadham College.

But, as I have already suggested, the real centre of interest was not at Wadham College, but at the rooms of the Oxford Union, where all the week a debate was in progress demanding the exercise of infinite tact, forbearance, patience, and in a word Christian Charity. It was happily successful, and the outcome of it is the new *Confederatio Internationalis Catholica* which absorbs and takes the place of the hitherto existing organisations. It is difficult in reasonable compass to explain the nature and aims of the Confederatio. Omitting, therefore, the details of its machinery, its objects, in the words of the provisional constitution, are :—

I. To labour to preserve and to render more effective the unity of Catholic action throughout the world.

II. To promote International Peace based upon Justice and Christian Charity, according to the desire and direction of the Holy See.

(*a*) By forming in every country a Catholic Conscience well instructed in the Church's teaching concerning the moral principles of international conduct.

(*b*) By creating the good-will necessary for the application of such principles.

(*c*) By united study of all questions immediately concerning Catholic interests in the international sphere.

(*d*) By establishing closer contact and where desirable collaboration in all branches of Catholic effort (moral, social, educational, &c.), between the Catholics of different nations.

All this is couched in the most general terms—necessarily, since this Confederation can hardly be said yet to exist as a complete working organism. At this stage only a provisional committee and other provisional organs could be set up. Aims will define themselves in view of specific circumstances as these arise. Practical means will be devised. But it is much that machinery has been set in motion, and that behind it there will be, let us hope, the united driving force of all the Catholic organisations concerned in its creation. What work lies before it and what power it possesses to accomplish that work time, as it passes, will reveal.

Meantime shall we in Ireland stand idly by in an isolation of very dubious splendour. STEPHEN J. BROWN.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

THE LAST SUPPER AND CALVARY. A Reply to Critics. By Rev. Maurice de la Taille, S.J. Philadelphia : Dolphin Press. 1924.

ESQUISSE DU MYSTERE DE LA FOI. Par M. de la Taille, S.J. Paris : Beauchesne, 1924. 8 *fr.*

We owe Father de la Taille an apology. Reviews are apt to be delayed in a quarterly, and these two publications no longer represent their author's "last word" on an important theological controversy. *Mysterium Fidei*, the work which placed Father de la Taille immediately among the first theologians of Europe, appeared in 1921. Few dogmatic treatises have been read with such interest in recent years. On the continent approval was very general, and Father de la Taille's *Esquisse suivie de quelques éclaircissements* for the benefit of French readers is less controversial in tone than his English *Reply to Critics*. The latter is merely a reprint of two articles which appeared in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for July and August, 1924, followed by a short note which appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for June of that year. This *Reply* is valuable for the clear statement of certain disputed points in Father de la Taille's doctrine ; critics who misunderstand so clear a defendant have only themselves to blame. But the controversy is not at an end, and those who wish for further light should read the distinguished French theologian's reply to a new and abler critic in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for August, 1925.

Unlike the *Reply*, the *Esquisse* adds to our knowledge of Father de la Taille's doctrine. The introductory sketch gives French readers what the English-speaking public have enjoyed for the last three years, since the publication of the Cambridge lectures on *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist :* a clear and concise statement of the central theses expounded in *Mysterium Fidei*. This is followed by a letter to a journalist on the nature of sacrifice ; another to a missionary on the offering which Christ makes of Himself on our altars, and a third letter to a theologian (Father A. d'Alès) on a disputed point in the liturgy of the Mass. The first two letters show Father de la Taille at his best, ever ready

to explain to the general public some technical but instructive thesis of dogmatic theology. The letter to Father d'Alès reveals a weakness which many readers of *Mysterium Fidei* must have felt. Father de la Taille's learning is immense, and he knows how to marshal his facts. But he is apt to over-strain a patristic argument and Father d'Alès takes him to task on the meaning of the "Angel of Sacrifice" in the Canon of the Mass. Those who take the trouble of looking up the whole controversy in the *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (1922), will perhaps agree with the present reviewer that Father d'Alès has the best of the argument.

But the principal article in this *Esquisse* is a long discussion of the question of stipends for Mass. What principle of theology justifies a priest in taking money for "the saying of a Mass"? Father de la Taille deals with the matter very fully in an essay which runs to nearly 150 pages. As usual, he has collected a vast amount of interesting historical information, and his statement of the conflicting theories advanced by theologians *melioris notae* shows how far the problem still is from solution. His own view is that the stipend represents the bread and wine formerly offered to the priests partly for the sacrifice of the Mass, partly for the sacred banquet which followed the sacrifice. *Meum et vestrum sacrificium.* The sacrifice belongs in a special manner to the person who makes this offering, and who has thereby, and without any further contract, a strict right to decide the intention for which the priest offers Mass. Moral theologians prefer as a rule a less liturgical solution; but Father de la Taille has given them grist in plenty for their mill. He has even resumed his whole doctrine in four pages of admirably clear Latin, printed at the end of this book. May these four pages do as much to promote the study of this minor problem in theology as *Mysterium Fidei* has already done and continues to do towards the deeper and more devotional study of a doctrine which touches the very heart of our Christian faith.

A. G.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. By Rev. W. Devivier, S.J. Translated, edited, and augmented by Rev. Joseph C. Sasia, S.J. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. London: B. Herder. 1925. Two volumes. 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

THIS work is dedicated "to American Catholic Youth anxious to preserve intact, their greatest spiritual heritage, Catholic Faith." American Catholic Youth constitute, no doubt, a sufficiently large public for such a work. Yet it would be a pity if it were confined

to them. It is too valuable a contribution to Catholic literature not to merit a catholic or universal audience. Certainly it should be known and read wherever the English language prevails, for there is hardly an adequate substitute in that tongue. There is nothing so complete, so thorough, so well adapted to the end in view. Destined for the general educated reader as well as for advanced students in schools and universities, it aims at covering the whole field of apologetics in such a manner as to meet the difficulties that all such readers may experience. The only criticism that suggests itself is that perhaps the field is too vast for the size of the work. Yet if many isolated questions in Apologetics would require volumes to themselves alone, it is obvious that we need also just such a complete manual as is here offered to us. The ordinary lay reader, the students of our schools and universities, have not the time or taste or knowledge requisite for special inquiries. On the other hand they must study their faith and understand the intellectual basis of their beliefs, or they run risk of suffering religious shipwreck. This is, I think, unquestionably the best effort yet made to meet their needs.

The original French work ran into twenty editions in a few years. The first translation published by Fr. Sasia in 1903 has long been sold out. This new edition is considerably larger (1171 pages as compared with 784), completely revised, and brought up-to-date. It has valuable bibliographies and answers to the chief difficulties one finds current in the world of to-day. Paper, binding, printing, indexing and all material adjuncts are such as we expect from an American publisher. The only drawback is that the price, though not exorbitant as books go at present, is high for the student world of impoverished Europe. There is, however, one class who should not be deterred by this consideration, and that is the teachers of Apologetics and Christian Doctrine in our schools. These, when not priests, are often at a loss for some comprehensive work to supplement the school primers. Fr. Sasia has put it into their hands.

P. J. GANNON.

Biography

SAINT VINCENT FERRIER (1350—1419). Par Matthieu-Maxime Gorce. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1924. 12 fr.

To understand Europe you must read the Lives of the Saints; for it is astonishing how representative sanctity makes a man. Take the case of Saint Vincent Ferrer, for example. For eight years a student of philosophy and theology, in France and Spain, then for seven years professor of theology and preacher at Valencia, finally

Papal confessor at the Court of the anti-Pope, Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna) at Avignon, this Spanish Dominican might well have left no more permanent memorial of his life's work than two scholastic treatises (*De suppositionibus dialecticis* and *De universali*), and a theological treatise on the claims of Benedict XIII to the Papacy. But God made him a saint, and immediately we find ourselves in contact with the whole of European life and thought in the days of the great Western schism ; for St. Vincent Ferrer, who left Avignon as Papal legate in 1399, claimed a direct mandate from God to preach penance and God's judgment to the nations under the " obedience " of Benedict XIII. A map at the end of this volume shows the range of his apostolic wanderings. Northern Spain, Southern France, Northern Italy, and finally Brittany, where he died in 1419 ; these were the scenes of his great missions, and the names suggest at once the essential unity of what is still the heart of Europe. National antagonisms have long since broken up that unity. But when Vincent Ferrer went from village to village, preaching the gospel of Christ to a world that was weary of Papal disputes, he found everywhere a common faith, common traditions, and—for all practical purposes, outside of Brittany—a common tongue. And the peoples of Spain, France, and Italy, were agreed in recognising him as the Angel of Judgment sent to announce God's wrath to come.

M. Gorce has a fine subject for his biography ; but he is the exception to prove a rule. Though a Frenchman, he does not know how to tell a story. Perhaps he was preoccupied with the preliminary critical problems ; for he has already published an essay on *Les bases de l'étude historique de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, and has a good deal to say about the work of his predecessor, Père Fages, O.P. Forty years ago Pastor pleaded for a more critical study of the great schism, and M. Gorce, with Père Fages as his guide, has thrown much light on the part played by St. Vincent on the Avignon side of the dispute. But it would seem that racial antipathy which was largely responsible for the schism, can still influence the judgment of modern scholars. Pastor, good Austrian that he is, has little or nothing to say on behalf of Pedro de Luna and his French cardinals. M. Gorce claims Benedict XIII as " un très grand pape," and holds that St. Vincent Ferrer was mainly responsible for the final solution of the crisis ; the part played by the Emperor Sigismund and the theologians of the Council of Constance is barely mentioned in an apologetic note. This is surely exaggeration of a good man's work for peace and unity ; and, when all is said and done, Saint Vincent's part in the drama still requires explanation. Having argued and preached in favour of Benedict XIII's claims for nearly thirty years,

when the Perpignan negotiations finally broke down in 1415, the Saint suddenly became convinced that his Pope was only an obstinate old man. He then preached a terrifying sermon in the cathedral of Perpignan, which deprived Benedict XIII of what little support was still his and forced him to fly to Peniscola. But the Pope was more logical than his fiery legate ; even as a prisoner he continued to rest his claim to the Papacy on arguments which St. Vincent had maintained to be unanswerable from half the pulpits of Europe.

M. Gorce is more convincing in his description of the Saint's missionary sermons. For twenty years St. Vincent went from town to town, preaching every day for at least three hours, sometimes for five, six or seven hours ; and the sermon was followed by a banquet at which all the notabilities of the town were present. Then on again, in the evening, to the next town. How it was done may well be a problem for our modern lungs and nerves ; as for what M. Gorce terms *de grands exploits gastronomiques*, St. Vincent seems to have found self-denial at table a very salutary virtue. Several collections of sermons and sermon-notes survive in manuscript, and M. Gorce examines these critically, apparently for the first time. His conclusion is that the Saint had nothing to learn in the art of keeping a vast audience attentive for hours on end. Some of his methods were startling, and have obscured his reputation as a Saint by suggesting that he believed himself a prophet. His favourite theme seems to have been the imminent approach of the Last Day. In one famous sermon at Toulouse, he gave such a shout in warning of that dreadful prospect that the thousands who were listening to him in the open air fell to the ground in terror, convinced that the Angel of Judgment was indeed at hand.

Did St. Vincent really believe that he was the Angel of Judgment ? M. Gorce is cautious in his denial ; just as he is discreetly cautious in his discussion of the saint's miracles—notably the gift of tongues, and a famous resurrection from the dead said to have taken place at Salamanca. Our judgment on all these questions must depend ultimately on the trustworthiness of the numerous witnesses who deposed to the saint's sanctity and miracles at the time of his canonisation. M. Gorce is evidently familiar with all this mass of evidence ; and if he sometimes leaves us in doubt as to this or that aspect of the saint's remarkable personality, his quotations bring us straight to the heart of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. And for that he deserves our thanks.

A. G.

OZANAM IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE. By the Right Rev. Mgr. Baunard. Translated from the French by a Member of the Council of Ireland of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society. 1925. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE title of this book errs on the side of modesty, for it is in reality a full and satisfactory biography of Frederick Ozanam, the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and it is difficult to believe that its author had attained the age of eighty-three years when it was written in 1912. The work was evidently for him a labour of love. He has brought to his task that exact and painstaking scholarship and that sincere spirit of Catholic piety which are so characteristic of French Catholic writers.

"Like St. Vincent de Paul, Ozanam was an apostle; an apostle of Truth, an apostle of Charity." These words are the text of Monsignor Baunard's book, and the life he describes justify them. At the age of seventeen Ozanam drew up his plan; at eighteen he opened the attack against Saint Simonism; at twenty he was proclaiming the truths of Catholicism in the Sorbonne and confounding the irreligious professors; at twenty-one he was asking the Archbishop of Paris to permit modern instruction by Lacordaire in Notre Dame; at thirty he held the lamp of Truth aloft from a Professor's chair in the Sorbonne itself.

At twenty with a few other students he inaugurated the first Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. "Let us go to the poor" was his message and his motto. From Paris he extended the benefit to France, later to both hemispheres. "I wish," he said, "to enfold the whole world with a network of charity." Before he died at forty he could count two thousand such centres of charity. To-day there are close on eight thousand.

Monsignor Baunard has given us not only the history of his acts, but the history of his soul as shown in his books and above all in his correspondence. The period of his short life was an eventful one. It was fruitful in great Catholics. It was the time of Montalembert, of Lacordaire, of Ampère, of Veuillot, and of poor Lammenais who fell by the way a victim to his intellectual pride. Yet amongst them all Ozanam's is the greatest, amongst them all he alone sowed seed which has fructified in a widening circle of Christian charity.

The Catholic Truth Society is to be warmly congratulated on this splendid book. It should be read by every student of Catholic social action, for the principles Ozanam enunciated and laid down are just as true and valuable to-day. Above all it should be read by every member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul who wishes

to really understand the life and motives of its founder. True to the traditions of that great body, its translator remains anonymous, but he is none the less to be congratulated on a noble task admirably done. JOHN J. HORGAN.

DICTIONNAIRE D'HAGIOGRAPHIE. Mis à jour à l'aide des travaux les plus récents. Par Dom Baudot, O.S.B. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1925. Pp. viii., 662. 33 fr.

IN the article devoted, in this number, to the revised *Martyrologium Romanum* and to Mgr. Holweck's *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, we should have been glad to include some account of the similar work which has just been published by the French Benedictine Dom Baudot, but the book unfortunately did not reach us in time. Judged, in the present writer's own case, from the not altogether impartial point of view of failing sight, Dom Baudot's volume makes, typographically speaking, a very favourable impression. The printing of each saint's name in large Clarendon capitals, with his date, also in Clarendon type, immediately following, adds immensely to clearness and renders the task of finding the saint you want, especially for the purblind, much more expeditious. Moreover it need hardly be said that this, when one is dealing with names like John or Felix or Gregory, is a point of some importance.

Dom Baudot's *Dictionary* is nothing like as comprehensive as that of Mgr. Holweck. Little space is, for example, accorded to oriental saints, apart from those that are mentioned in the Roman Martyrology, and this very fact much facilitates reference. On the other hand, for the practical purposes of the ordinary enquirer, cleric or layman, who is mainly interested in Western Hagiography, Dom Baudot's selection of names seems to us to be sufficiently copious. We have not yet been able to test it sufficiently to state whether all the names of the venerable servants of God who have been formally beatified or whose cultus has been approved in the course of the last three centuries, have been included, but we have found most of those for which we have looked. Naturally Dom Baudot catalogues these compendious biographies under the heading of the more accepted French form of the name. Stephen has to be sought for under Etienne, and when one is searching for the Blessed Stefana Quinzani, let us say, one does not always remember at once that the French rendering of the feminine name is Stéphanie. But she is there, sure enough.

Dom Baudot announces on his title-page that the summary notices which he provides have been compiled "with the help of the most recent works on the subject." This is, no doubt, so far true

that all the recent beatifications and canonizations down to the end of 1924 have been duly taken account of. Indeed although his preface is dated 21 March, 1925, and the Imprimatur 26 March, we find a paragraph accorded to Vincent Marie Strambi who was not beatified until more than a month after that date. Still more curiously Madeleine-Sophie Barat is described as "Saint," whereas Marie-Madeleine Postel is entered as "Blessed," though they were both, in point of fact, canonized on the same day in the present year. But so far as the title-page announcement just cited might be taken to imply that the work before us is up-to-date from the point of view of recent historical research, we feel bound to say that the share of modern criticism in these notices hardly extends further than to the bare and occasional mention in the brief bibliographical references of such works as the *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* of Mgr. Duchesne or the *Légendes hagiographiques* of Père Delehaye.

Dom Baudot has been careful not to introduce the slightest word which could jar upon the susceptibilities of the most timorous modern reader. If anyone should take the trouble to look up the accounts of the Virgin Martyrs commemorated in the Litany—SS. Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Catherine and Anastasia—he will by no means find the same plain-speaking that honourably distinguishes the work of Mgr. Holweck. Even with regard to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Dom Baudot is content to say that tradition describes them as coming forth a hundred years later from the cavern in which they had been walled up in order to testify to the reality of the resurrection ; and there he leaves the matter without further comment. Again, with regard to St. Lazarus of Bethany, the brother of Martha and Mary, we are told that according to one tradition, Lazarus with his sisters migrated to Provence and became bishop of Marseilles, while another tradition affirms that he died in Cyprus ; and upon this Dom Baudot, without giving a single bibliographical reference, remarks that it is impossible to enter into the details of a controversy which is still undecided (*une controverse toujours pendante*). We can quite understand that from a commercial point of view the publisher will highly approve this reticence, but it is just this sort of treatment which, as it seems to the present writer, exposes the Church to the charge of making profit out of the credulity of the simple and uneducated.

H. Thurston.

PARNELL. By St. John Ervine. London: Benn. 1925. 12s. 6d.

THE time when a full estimate of Charles Stewart Parnell can be made and a reasoned judgment passed on him as a statesman is probably not yet come. The thirty-four years which have elapsed since his death have, here in Ireland, been filled with events and movements in the political and social sphere whose connection one with another and still more whose real result we of this generation do not know. Still for biographies, whose leading use is to furnish material for the final judgment, there is room, and as one of these biographies Mr. St. John Ervine's work is to be welcomed.

The picture of Parnell given and the account of the public events of his career will be found useful and illuminating, especially by the young and those in middle life, whose personal recollections do not extend back to the eighties of the last century. We are inclined to suspect that the nervousness, shyness and eccentricity of the hero, on which such stress is laid, are a good deal exaggerated. Certainly they afford but inadequate explanations of such things as, for example, the callous manner in which he received the news of Butt's death and his positive rudeness to those charged with the presentation to him of the very considerable "tribute" subscribed by the Irish people. Again, it is hard to believe that, except at the very beginning of his political career, hatred of England greatly influenced Parnell. While to credit the assertion that "the love of the English was waiting for him, had he chosen to take it" (page 147), is quite frankly impossible—unless indeed the English are prone to love those who thwart and oppose them: a vice or virtue of which we have never heard them accused.

The account of the miserable O'Shea intrigue is given with needless, sometimes with coarse, minuteness. This and Mr. St. John Ervine's sentimentalising—we are invited to compare the story with that of Dante's Paolo and Francesca—are doubtless intended to excuse Parnell and minimise his guilt. They are likely to have quite the opposite effect. It would have been wiser, having told briefly of the great man's lapse, to pass on and give to him the charity of silence as to details.

The chief fault to be found with what may be described as the background of this book is that it is coloured with three varieties of what we must frankly term snobbery—that of race, of creed, and of class: the cult of the Englishman, the Protestant, the "gentleman," as opposed to the "native" or "Celtic" Irishman, the Catholic and the plebeian.

The first variety is the most openly expressed: "Parnell was of Anglo-Saxon blood, the blood of authority and leadership, while

his followers were Celts, in whose veins flowed only the blood of obedience and submission" (page 148). It might be remarked by a captious critic that Parnell is not an Anglo-Saxon name; nor are Dillon, Redmond and Webb, to take three instances from amongst the names of his followers, "Celtic" ones. Also one wonders whether Mr. St. John Ervine ever heard of O'Connell. Even Parnell's blood, however, was not free from taint. His ancestors for several generations had made their homes in this distressful island. "In the way of Nature it was ordained that the Anglo-Irish Parnell should be the master of the Irish Davitt, even as in the way of Nature it was ordained that the English Gladstone should be the master of the Anglo-Irish Parnell" (page 171).

To the Catholics the offensive term "Papist" is frequently applied. We hear of "that nauseous piety which is possessed by inferior Papists" (page 142). And again of "an unsavoury piety" which makes the minds of the said inferior Papists "turn rancid" (page 147). The Nonconformists of Great Britain, who first struck at Parnell after the divorce proceedings, are certainly described as "ravening Methodists" (page 287). But "nauseous piety" is not mentioned as a general characteristic of Methodists of any class. Except to a slight extent Biggar, and very particularly Davitt, none of Parnell's followers find much favour with Mr. Ervine. The beauty of Davitt's character atoned even for his lowly origin. "The purest mind of them all" he is called, who "had the austere beauty of a saint and a selfless love of people." "There was no hatred or uncharitableness in Davitt," the author goes on. "The English people had shamefully used him, but he did not permit their misuse of him to blind him to their virtues" (page 146).

Some of the remarks made on certain members of the Nationalist Party strike us as not exactly in good taste; not because of their severity, but because they have nothing whatever to do with their public conduct. A flagrant instance of this is to be found on page 271, where the clothes of the present Governor-General are commented on.

Parnell's life-work is well summed up in one of the concluding chapters: "When we are tempted to doubt the ability or greatness of Parnell, we need only test him in one way: what was the state of the Irish Party before he took command of it, what was its state during the eleven years he led it, and what was its state for thirty years after his death? The test does not defeat him" (page 269). The greatness of Parnell's political genius is thus evidently what Mr. St. John Ervine wishes chiefly to convey to his readers. We think he would have done so more effectually had he given less prominence to his weaknesses, his defects, and his moral delinquencies. M. T. H.

Celtica

ALTIRISCHE GRAMMATIK. Dr. Julius Pokorny. Berlin : Walter de Gruyter. 1925. Rm. 1.25

A merely descriptive grammar of the most complicated of Indo-European languages suggests a wealth of minute details by no means easy to classify in a compact form. Dr. Pokorny has attempted something more. He has tried to pack into this little book of 128 pages, No. 896 of the excellent *Sammlung Göschen*, a detailed historical phonology and morphology of Old Irish, a chapter on word formation, a brief syntax, and a few pages of selected texts from the Ogam Inscriptions to the middle of the ninth century. He has arranged his material with great skill, and has brought together more information about Old Irish than is to be found elsewhere in anything like the same compass. Much of the phonology is the fruit of Prof. Pokorny's own researches.

The book is evidently intended for German students of comparative philology who wish to learn the elements of Old Irish. On every possible occasion we are referred to hypothetical restorations of Primitive Irish, Goidelic, and Indo-European ; indeed, many pages bristle with the asterisks which have led some wag to give to the days of speculative linguistics the name of " the astrological period." Thus *brón* suggests I.E. **g'rughnos* ; the prep. *oc* (mod. *ag*) is referred to I.E. **ponkō* ; the fut. *dáilfid* to I.E. **dālī-bhve-ti* ; though some readers may object that it remains to be proved that there was any fut. tense in Indo-European.

The all too brief syntax gives little scope for speculation. But the syntax of Old Irish cannot be successfully condensed into seventeen pages. On p. 86 *do-gní* with *di*, ' becomes,' is wrongly said to be intransitive ; the vb. is impersonal, but it always takes the acc., and an example of this occurs on p. 112. On p. 104 we are told that a noun governing a def. gen. does not itself take the art. ; the scores of cases in which both nouns take the art. are ignored. According to a rule on p. 118 the def. pred. after the copula *must* be preceded by a pers. pron. of the same gender. Against this one might cite a score of examples from the Old Irish Glosses, such as *is a rath-som ro-nn-íc-ni*, ' it is His grace that has saved us.' On the same p. we read that in verbal clauses (also with *attá*) the pred. follows the subj., *e.g.*, *atá Día atach n-dún-ni*, ' God is a refuge to us.' This cannot but mislead beginners ; advanced students will know that the syntax is quite un-Irish ; it is merely a servile rendering of *Deus noster refugium*. P. 15, *ón tráth sin co al-aile* (better *al-aill*) is not well explained by '*überhaupt*.' It means, like the mod. *ón*

tráth go chéile, 'till the corresponding hour next day.' P. 126, *imgabáil uilc do dénum* is translated '*die Vermeidung des Ubels zu bewirken.*' Dr. Pokorny has missed the precise force of the idiom, obvious to anyone who can think in Gaelic; it is equivalent to *imgabáil dénmo uilc*, 'to avoid doing evil.'

However, such errors are very rare, and the book may be heartily recommended to the students for whom it has been written.

O. J. B.

SAOGHAL EANACHA. Tadhg Ó Ceallaigh do scríobh. Baile Atha Cliath: Comhlucht Oideachais na hÉireann. 1925. 2s. 6d.

Nr'L aon nídh níos fearr ná níos folláine do dhaoinibh a chaitheann a saoghal sa chathair ná turus beag rothaidheachta nó coisidheachta fé'n dtuaidh ó am go h-am, agus dá mhinice é is eadh is fearr. Tá a fhios san ag cách, acht dá aimhdheoin sin, is deacair daoine do tharrach amach ó'n gcathair. Easba eólais ar tréithibh na n-ainmhidhe bhfiadháin agus ainbhfios áilneachta na tuaithe is cúis le sin, óir is beag duine nach dtaithnigheann leis stúidéar ar shaoghal agus tréithibh na n-éan agus na mbláth, acht amháin tosnughadh ar an obair spéiseamhail san. Bíonn na héin le feicsint ins gach uile áit, agus a dtréithe féin ag gach ceann aca. Acht tá sé de dhíth ag na Gaedhealgóiribh, go nuige seo, ná raibh eólas cruinn aca ar ainmneacha na n-éan, agus ná raibh aon chaoi aca chum an eólais sin do chnuasadh, ach chomh beag.

Ní'l de chuspóir ag an leabrán seo—Saoghal Éanacha—acht an díth sin do dhíbirt. Ní beag linn an cuspóir sin, agus ba cheart do gach Gaedhilgeóir bheith buidheach beannachtach do Thadhg Ó Ceallaigh de bharr na hoibre sin. Tá leathanach déag is trí fichid sa leabhrán. Tá ocht bpictiúirí (bán agus dubh amháin) ann, agus tá pictiúir deas ioldathach, mar éadan an leabhair—an chuach atá mar adhbhar an éadain. Tá deich n-ailt sa leabhar, i n-ar thug an t-Úghdar cúnntas spéiseamhail áluinn dúinn ar chuid d'éanaibh na hÉireann. Cé go bhfuil eólas maith ag a lán daoine ar na héanaibh sin, ba mhaith an rud do dhuine an cunntas san do léigheamh, mar do chuir Tadhg croiceann nuadh deas ar an adhbhar. Dála na cuaiche, tá cunntas le fagháil (l. a 17) ar an gcuachoig ag taisdeal na tuaithe, agus a máthair bocht altroma in a teannta, agus go fíor-deimhin, ba dheacair an tuairisc ghleoite sin do shárughadh.

Acht tá an dá fhoclóir ar an dá rud is fearr d'á bhfuil sa leabhar. Sa bhfoclóir Béarla-Gaedhilg, tá ainmneacha ar fagháil ar bhreis is 150 éanaibh, agus na hainmneacha nuadha (tá cuid maith aca ann) táid go léir ceapaithe go heolgasach, agus go tuigsionach.

Tá cúpla dearmad sa bhfoclóir Béarla-Gaedhilg: fé "Sally-picker" deirtear, "cf. Willow-wren," acht ní'l dada sa bhfoclóir sin fé "Willow" nó fé "Wren"; acht tá an t-ainm "ceolaire sailighe" le fagháil fé "Warbler." Ba mhaith an rud focal do chur sa bhfoclóir i gcóir "Chiff-chaff," acht ní'l sé ann, cé go bhfuil "siff-seaff" air i rith an leabhair. Tá "Filoména" aige i gcóir "Nightingale"—"Filoméla" a bhí in a aigne is dócha.

Tá leath-choróin ar an leabhar, acht is fiú an luach san é. Cuirimíd fáilte is fiche roimh an tosnughadh maith seo, agus táimid ag brath ar an gcéad cheann eile. Cuirfimíd míle fáilte roimhe sin, acht amháin leabhar mór do bheith ann. Go neartuighidh Dia chum na hoibre thú, a Thaidhg. P. Ó C.

BUNUS NA hEOLUIOCHTA. Tomás Mac Conraoi, M.A., agus Éamonn Ó Donnchadha do sholáthruigh. Baile Atha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Nóláin. 100 leath. 1925. 3s. 6d.

Molaimid an obair atá ceapaithe ag Scoil Cheilteach Coláiste Ollscoile Corcaigh, sé sin teacs leabhair do sholáthair do'n scoláire ar gach adhbhar léighinn agus tá tosnughadh maith déanta acu leis an leabhar so. Leabhar so-léighte, so-thuigsionach is eadh é, leabhar go gcuirfidh an múinteoir agus an scoláire spéis ann. Tá céad leathanach sa leabhar agus tá a lán fíoghar agus iad cló-bhuailte go deas, cruinn. Tá cúig roinnte déanta d'adhbhar an leabhair, mar atá: An t-Aér—Déantus an Atmosféir—Ocsaighein, Níotraighein agus Déocsáid Carbóine—Uisce—Seirbh Alcaili agus Salainn; agus mar sin an t-é a léighfidh Bunús na hEóluíochta ní beag an méid eolais a bhéas dá bhárr aige. Tá cúpla dearmad cló sa leabhar, cuir i gcás: ar leathanach a 8 scríobhtar "bair-méadar," ar leathanach a 11 chímid "barméadar" agus tá bara-méadar sa ghluais. Mar sin féin tá an leabhar cló-bhuailte go maith agus tá clúdach maith air. Go soirbighe Dia dhibh a Thomáis Mhic Chonnraoi agus a Eamuinn Ui Dhonnchadha agus go raibh A bheannacht ar shaothar bhúr bpeann. C. S.

AMHRAIN SHEUMAIS MHIC CHUARTA. (An cheud chuid). Lorcán Ua Muireadhaigh, Sagart, do chruinnigh agus do chuir in eagar. Sráid Bhaile Dhún Dealgan: Preas Dhún Dealgan. 105 leath. 1925. 2s.

Is minic a chloisimid trácht ar an leabhar rí-mhaith a sgríobh Domhnall Ó Corcra tamall beag ó shoin—"The Hidden Ireland." Agus tá daoine adeir ná fuil an fhírinne iomlán ann. Dhubhairt "Máire" ná raibh, agus thug sé somplaí filidheachta Chúige Uladh chun a taisbeáint dúinn go raibh filidhe is báird le fagháil i dtuais-

ceart na h-Éireann. Tagann an t-Athair Lorcán ar an ardán, anois, leabhar breágh i na láimh aige, ag cur i n-iúil dúinn go bhfuil áit eile i n-Éirinn, agus fíor-fhilidheacht innti mar an gcéadna. D'éirigh Domhnall Ó Corcra, d'umhluigh, agus thóg an brat ó chúinne bhéag a bhí fé cheilt ó n-a lán againn. Tá an obair chéadna d'á déanamh ag an Athair Lorcán, nó b'fhéidir níos mó, mar tá sé ag taisbeáint dúinn go léir, do Dhomhnall féin, leis, áite, cúinne bige, a bhí fé cheilt le fada an lá. Sin atá uainn, bheith ag obair go dian, ag saothru na talmhan, ag brisheadh na h-ithearach. Tá ciste le fagháil, fé n-ár gcosaibh, ins gach áird, ach amháin dul ar a lorg. Tá óir-chiste i n-Oméith.

Tá an cheud chuid seo de shaothar Sheumais Mhic Chuarta go maith is go spéiseamhail. Tá fiche ceann d'amhránaibh an fhile ins an leabhar, réamh-rádh cruinn ar an bhfile féin, agus cur-síos ar na h-amhránaibh. Béimid ag feitheamh leis na codaibh eile gan mhoill. Má tá siad chomh maith leis an gcuid seo, beidh éileamh maith ortha, ní foláir. A. Ó F.

Drama

TWO PLAYS. Juno and the Paycock and *The Shadow of a Gunman*. By Sean O'Casey. London: Macmillan. 1925. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Since *The Playboy* was produced at the *Abbey* almost twenty years ago, it may safely be said that no play staged there has aroused as much interest as *Juno and the Paycock*. Mr. O'Casey had already made a very palpable hit with *The Shadow of a Gunman*, and the new playwright may be said to have given new life to the Irish National Theatre. Old favourites had begun to pall; the "established" dramatists kept on writing the class of thing one expected from them, when this unknown author swam into our ken and produced a sensation. The *Abbey* "crowd" proceeded at once to boom him. Mr. James Stephens, a writer whose opinion is valued and who should therefore weigh his words, acclaims Mr. O'Casey as "the greatest dramatic find of modern times." This is typical of the exaggeration in which the log-rollers of Abbey Street are prone to indulge. Synge is greater than Shakspeare; Robinson is without rival. The *Abbey* people praise themselves, and one another, so consistently, that it is difficult for the unbiased to record an opinion that will not be ascribed to prejudice, if it be not so favourable as their own verdict on themselves.

Sean O'Casey has undoubtedly written two very good plays for the *Abbey* Theatre. He is not, however, the greatest dramatic find of modern times. He has put before us on the stage, and now

he gives us in book form, two intimate studies of life in a Dublin tenement. His plays abound in "characters"; not *dramatis personae*, but types. It is these types chiefly that delight his audiences in Dublin, because we in this city are familiar with them. We love to hear Dublin idioms, such as we listen to daily in our streets, spoken on the stage, and we derive entertainment, though in a less degree, from reading them in print. In addition, Mr. O'Casey has selected as the periods for his plays the "Black-and-Tan" epoch of 1920 and the "Irregular" war time of 1922. Close as we are to those unhappy days, our interest in them is none the less still keen, and there is for that class of the community which can afford to sit in comfort at a play a peculiar pleasure in studying these pictures of how the poor lived—and died—while history was in the making.

Juno is a tragedy in three acts; the *Gunman* a tragedy in two. They are both tragic enough in all conscience to make angels weep—and *Abbey* audiences laugh. Whether it be the sordid scenes, the empty "blowing" of so many of the characters, the hopelessness and helplessness which seem the outstanding features of tenement life as Mr. O'Casey portrays it, there is something distinctly grim in these two plays. They would be tragedies were a shot never fired, a life never taken. When death is added as an ingredient the cup of sorrows is full. What heightens the effect of the tragedy in each instance is the abundance of humour in both plays. "The Captain" and the immortal "Joxer" in *Juno* would abate the gravity of the Sphinx, while in the *Gunman* "Seumas Shields" and "Adolfus Grigson" are almost as productive of genuine amusement. There are women in the plays too, who make one cry with laughter when they are not causing one to shed tears, and no little part of the fascination which these two works exercise over the audience is due to this wonderfully clever and artistic blending of the sad and comic sides of life. The author has observed shrewdly and closely, and has painted his pictures with striking fidelity.

To review these plays properly, in their written form, it would be much better for the critic not to have seen them acted. It would be possible then to deal with them on their own merits, and the spell of the scene as it has been exercised in the *Abbey* would not interfere with the judgment. As it is, the scene lives again as one reads; the familiar cadences of the brilliant band of players at the *Abbey* ring in the ears. Mr. O'Casey has all the remembered glamour of the stage setting to aid him. In compensation (that is to say as an assistance to the formation of cool and critical opinion) we escape the audience. The plays, considered dramatically, are weak

in plot. Only the thinnest thread sustains each tragedy, and no one would read or listen to either merely for the sake of reaching the *dénouement*. A plot is, however, no longer considered vital in a play, so Mr. O'Casey is not likely to be troubled at carpings on this score. It may be objected further that save for the "character" parts, such as "Juno," "the Captain," "Joxer"—always "Joxer" —"Shields," the other figures in the plays are colourless. Again, the obvious and easy humour of malapropisms is overworked. It is amusing to read and gets its laugh over the footlights, but it is *vieux jeu*. For all that, the dialogue is wonderfully natural and spontaneous; indeed its fidelity to life has excited some criticism. There is much biting sarcasm and many a shrewd thrust at our foibles. It has been objected that these plays are too realistic, too true to life as it is lived in Dublin tenements; a foolish objection to urge. They will hold the attention of Dublin audiences for a long time to come (if not performed too often). Whether they will make an appeal outside our city and to another generation is by no means so certain. W. D.

Education

LES ECOLES EPISCOPALES ET MONASTIQUES EN OCCIDENT AVANT LES UNIVERSITES (768-1180). Par Léon Maitre. Deuxième édition. Paris: A. Picard. 1924. Pp. x., 227. (Archives de la France Monastique. Vol. XXVI).

THE second edition of this most useful and orderly volume is completely remodelled, and yet keeps close to the plan and form of the first edition, now a rarity of the period of the Second Empire. The long list of secondary sources which M. Maitre has prefixed to the present issue is, as to fully two-thirds of the titles set down, subsequent to the first issue of his work. Yet it is quite remarkable how small the changes required proved to be. The main cause of this persistence of views is that in all sections the writer adheres closely to, and cites for every statement, the original sources for his period. He is careful to eschew what he terms in one place rhetorical elaboration of his materials. Hence the work has enduring value, even though we may hold that M. Maitre confines himself very often to a rather literal and even jejune paraphrase of the basic authorities.

The book falls into two main sections. In the first, we are given a systematic outline of the actual evidence of the existence and development of the episcopal and monastic schools from Charlemagne to John of Salisbury. This is done by ecclesiastical provinces and

their dioceses, century by century. It is a valuable if very sober and restrained record, keeping very close to the letter of the sources. It would have benefited not a little by a map, for the actual areas of the early mediaeval ecclesiastical system will not be specially present to M. Maitre's readers. The various Renaissances, from Charlemagne to Abelard, are touched on, but with methodical restraint rather than with illumination.

In the second part we are given an outline of the course of studies and their administrative organisation. The tone is here again one of extreme simplicity and restraint. A little of the outlook and spirit of Pierre Duhem—whose works are not cited among the sources—would have been beneficial. There is something lacking on every page, most of all on the pages devoted to the science studies, and especially astronomy and music. M. Maitre tells us very formally what was done in the Middle Ages. There is no hint of how its curriculum persisted through the centuries of the Renaissance, and of how mediaeval methods were at once scorned and used. There is even less suggestion of how the mediaeval curriculum, as in Scotland, influenced the University studies of such modern scientists as Tilden and Thompson. The general historical survey is as important as the handling of the remoter sources. T. C.

THE MEDICAL SCIENCES IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES. A Study in the History of Civilization. Translated from the German of Theodor Billroth, with an introduction by Wm. H. Welch. London and New York: Macmillan. 1924. Pp. 292. 15*s.* nett.

"PLUS ça change, plus c'est la même chose." Although it is now exactly half a century since the appearance of Billroth's "Lehren und Lernen der medizinischen Wissenschaften" first threw the medical faculty of Vienna into a ferment of discussion, it will come as a surprise to not a few readers of this belated translation to realise that, notwithstanding the passage of time, the same fundamental problems remain to be faced by our medical educational authorities to-day. Many valuable lessons may be learned, many useful hints obtained, from this fifty-year-old exposition of his trials and difficulties by the great Viennese teacher. Then, as now, students were poor, and often insufficiently grounded in their preliminary studies; then, as now, the cry was periodically raised to press this subject in the curriculum in preference to that; then, as now, there were foreshadowings of the "full-time" system. Even the difficulty of providing the best men for rural dispensaries

faced the authorities at Vienna in 1875, as it is facing our authorities in Dublin in this year of grace, 1925.

No apology for the translation of this book is needed : it arrives in the most timely fashion. Although it is scarcely possible or, even if possible, hardly desirable to transplant bodily ideas of university education and organisation from one country to another, not a little valuable information may be gathered from these pages by all who are vitally interested in the varied and detailed problems and difficulties of educational organisation at this stage of our country's progress.

The book has a dual attraction. On the one hand, for all who are interested in the historical aspect of the subject, we have here traced for us by a cultured personality, steeped in the history of his subject, a panoramic, bird's eye view of the evolution of the medical teacher from the days of Salerno and Bologna down to the latter half of the nineteenth century, when Vienna was a Mecca for the young doctors of the Old and New Worlds. On the other, the members of our several medical faculties will find in these pages informative and sympathetic discussion of the functions of a University, of the importance of propaedeutics, of the necessity of grounding the student in sound methods and scientific principles. Difficulties within the faculty are alluded to, and many problems of pressing importance are discussed with all the authority which comes from knowledge and experience. Many wise and pithy sentences preserve for us an impression of Billroth's personal influence and significance as a great university teacher, long after he himself has gone. His wit, his courage, his frankness, added to his breadth of vision, make the reading of this book, notwithstanding its relative antiquity, at once a delight and a profit to all interested in the problems of medical education to-day. The anonymous translator has done his work admirably. W. D.

MORALE ET SCIENCE. Conférences faites à la Sorbonne par MM. Lapie, Parodi, Melinand, Félix Pécaut, Goblot, Rey, et Pézard. Paris : Nathan. 1923. Pp. vi., 222.

MORALE ET SCIENCE. Seconde Série de Conférences, par MM. Parodi, Pécaut, Bouglé, Pézard. Paris : Nathan. 1924. Pp. vi., 166.

Together with the lectures of M. Paul Fauconnet, disciple and propagandist of the sociology of Durkheim and of Lévy-Bruhl, these two volumes will be found to be a useful presentation of the school of thought now dominant in the training of the Primary Teachers of France. They are introduced by and contributed to

by M. Paul Lapie, a leading Inspector of Schools. They are expositions of the views of the chief instructors and lecturers in the State System of modern France, a system that by no means accepted the policy which appeared to animate the State School administration from 1918 to 1924.

The official programmes now put Sociology as the basis of the new Training College courses. This sociology is frankly naturalistic and non-Christian, though it can on occasion condescend so far as to quote St. Paul. But its real prophets are the two gentlemen with very characteristic names, by no means French in their derivation, Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. Morality is defined to be a mere fact, not an intellectual principle. Morality is the survey of what men actually do, not of what they ought to do. The Kantian doctrines which were the basis of official teaching of future teachers from 1885 to 1905, are now superseded. "The Sociologists of to-day see things more closely than Kant. He saw Duty. They see different groups of Duties, the concrete practices which prevail among men." "Morals are the product of Human Societies. Societies of men create moral codes and systems." Such is the summary of his views given us by M. Félix Pécaut, Inspector-General of State Schools. Such is the note of all these conferences, destined, no doubt, to give what is termed a "neutral" course of instruction, through Teachers thus indoctrinated by Inspectors and Professors oi the Sorbonne, to the pupils of the State Secondary Schools of France, under the guise of "Moral and Civic Education." These Conferences were given to the lecturers in the chief State Training Colleges of France, to guide them in using their opportunities of influence. The new State Sociology of France is indeed a curious and perverse system, opposed to all Christian principles of Moral Doctrine. T. C.

L'ECOLE SOCIOLOGIQUE ET LES ORIGINES DE LA MORALE. Par O. Habert. Paris: Marcel Rivière. 1923. Pp. vii., 303. 7 *fr.* (Collection "Etudes Philosophiques." Ed. E. Peillaube, Doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Institut Catholique de Paris).

WITHIN the period since the close of the war considerable attention has, with good reason, been directed to the teachings of the sociological school headed by Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. Readers of contemporary Catholic literature in French will remember how sweeping were the comments on this "Totemism" and Taboo philosophy, uttered in three very oratorical articles, within the past twelve months, by M. Brillant in *Les Lettres*. What M. Brillant

has done in review form, M. O. Habert here presents in a more vigorous philosophical form, with marked clearness and dignity.

This new sociologism bids to be the official or officious doctrine of the new Sorbonne. It reduces morals to a survey of actual human procedure, annihilates any absolute standards, and denies any essential idea of good and evil. It is an interesting evolution of a lay policy in morals, which began with the mellifluous promises of M. Jules Ferry, and continued through the rigorous Kantianism of Janet and Compayré. It now seems to have reached its term in this code of sociological pragmatism, where Spencer, Darwin, Letourneau and Lombroso join in providing a new moral code that supersedes the whole idea of human morality.

This volume of M. Habert is well worth systematic study. Three chapters are devoted to an exposition of the new doctrines, now widely prevalent in French education as far as the State Schools on the primary side are concerned. Five chapters are devoted to meeting the new sociology on its chosen ground ; the habits and morals of primitive peoples. Here M. Habert has made good use of the writings of the very effective Catholic School, headed by Mgr. Le Roy ; and he is fortified by a telling yet reserved use of the philosophy of St. Thomas. The "new morality" has many unexpected channels of infiltration and is capable of presenting itself as an angel of light. Its plain utterances as to its subversive principles can be studied to good effect under the clear and systematic guidance of MM. Habert and Peillaube, in this excellent and well-ordered volume. T. C.

Fiction

LA MAISON DU FOU. Chronique de Saint-Léonard.
LA MAISON DU SAGE. Histoire d'un Crime.
LE VIN DE TA VIGNE. Nouvelle Chronique de Saint-Léonard.
By Louis Artus. Paris : Grasset. 1925. 7 fr. 50 each.

THESE three books are full of suggestive thought. They convey, when read as a sequence, an insistent plea for the highest form of "divine discontent" with the materialism, the platitudes, the cant of science and progress, the general low levels and failures of humanity—especially, paradoxical as it sounds, of humanity at its best. The two faces of Janus the mysterious are conversing with one another. One of them has seen a light come out of the East and pass on to the West, absorbing all other sources of light.

And in the silence of the darkening twilight, the Eastern face asked : "But men ? Whither are men going ?" "Some have followed the light, they escape the fated revolution of the orb, walk towards the unknown and leave the earth behind.

These are the mad, the ignorant, the humble, all those that hear and see and do not insist on understanding. Only the wilfully blind and deaf, the learned and the wise, those who follow the rut towards the halting-place and the night's lodging; the silent ones who do not ask the way because they know it; those who are dead, the proud; only they will come again to our empty door-way leading to no dwelling." [1]

Such passages as this illustrate the author's leading idea and give some notion of his style, which is suggestive rather than exact. Only the second of the three volumes can be properly called a novel, but it is a novel *à thèse*. It shows how human morality may collapse when it has no ultimate stay. The *sage*, a distinguished, conscientious, but unbelieving professor, comes under the strange domination of an entirely amoral adventurer, and gradually reveals in himself unsuspected deeps of immorality and crime. We are frankly in the realm of mystery in this almost Jekyll and Hyde story, and must read it merely as an endeavour to expose a false principle in its worst consequences

The other volumes consist of episodes from monastic chronicles, allegories, legends. The author seems to have some affinity with his heroes: inquisitors pronouncing death-sentences even though their humanity quails before the necessary defence of truth; religious giving themselves and their brethren and possessions to the flames rather than consent to a momentary weakness; mystics positively athirst for the supernatural in this world or mad with the folly of the Cross. Some of these stories are in lighter vein and full of charm. Ever and anon appears the legendary and symbolic figure of John of Milan, who goes about accompanied by a mysteriously attractive Child, preaching contempt of the world and making the most unexpected converts. We find him in Milan, a contemporary of St. Ambrose, talking, for example, with Caecilius Naso, the pagan senator and man of letters :—

"How comes it, friend, that I readily listen to this talk of yours, which is contrary to my reason"?

"It is because that is one of the surest marks of truth."

"What does the child say to those whom he persuades, and what does he teach them"?

"*He that saves his life will lose it, but he that loses his life will save it.* Only that. For he knows nothing else, not even whence he came one day to our hermitages." [2]

But the impression made on Caecilius is only a passing spell. Caecilius is the impersonation of the corrupt, powerful, polished, pagan world, resenting the rude intrusion of a stern, ascetic teaching. This chapter is one of the best in the book.

We know that outside the Christian revelation there is ulti-

[1] *La Maison du Sage*, p. 298. [2] *Le Vin de ta Vigne*, p. 92.

mately nothing stable or noble in humanity. We know that heroic mystics have been, are, and must be. But a question remains. Is it necessary to represent the highest and most mystical spirituality as so incompatible, even provisionally, with what is good in nature, in knowledge, in art? Is it necessary, or wise, to show the defeat of reason in Dom Fulbert, who one day has thus himself decried it?—

> Before an audience, trembling with excitement, he exposed the workings of thought and imagination. He arrived at nothingness, at anarchy. "Let us get to the bottom of the certitudes of the wise, let us follow a fearless logic beyond their timid hypotheses, let us imagine structures that destroy theirs, that destroy everything. . . . . Let us drive them to see that sheer evil, preferable and admirable, is their necessary and satisfactory conclusion! Let us denounce their weakness and their hypocrisy"[1]

It seemed, says the author, "as though he wanted to drive the majority out of the Church" by his ruthless presentation of truth.

M. R.

JOIE DANS LE CIEL. Par C. F. Ramuz: Paris: Grasset. 1925. 7 fr. 50.

This attractive phantasy, or symbol, shows us a rather terrestrial heaven; but this heaven of unsophisticated imaginations is a heaven upon earth. The mountain village has all the loveliness of the mountains, without storms and dangers. Those who have been separated meet again, and it is strangely moving, as in a happy dream, after the agony of life, loss, and suffering. They enjoy their simple affections and pursue their homely occupations without any of the drawbacks of earth.

The intentionally naive style full of repetitions like Péguy's touches the note of dream wonderment:

> There was a hand holding him, and it held him by the arm, high up, pulling him along to her all the time. Even if he hadn't wanted to come, he would have come; he didn't know whether he wanted to come or not; he didn't have to ask himself. For a long time he followed the road, the road that goes by the water towards the east; towards the rising sun and where Jerusalem is. The sky put on a white dress, then a pink one. He walked all the morning, he was walking at noon, he was still walking in the evening; and now the sky was all green in front of him. Everywhere the men in the wide-stretching vineyards were happy and handsome, with their maize stalks drying in front of the houses, and the walnuts carefully spread out to dry in the breeze, on the laths of a sort of open-work gallery under the spreading eaves of the stables. The women, standing at the doors, said to him: "Won't you come in?" They made him a bed. They didn't ask him for any money. They didn't even ask his name; there are no names now. . . . . And she was waiting for him, she knew he was to come, she was in no hurry.

[1] *Le Vin de ta Vigne*, p. 5.

But alas! heaven on earth after a few months grows monotonous. "There is only one thing wanting, and that is, that it can't change." All the "Do you remember" topics have been exhausted. Thérèse, the goat-herd, then Phémie the old maid in her garden, then Bonvin the hunter, go one after the other to the unexplored mountain gorges. And from the deepest gorge rises the blackness of thunder, preceding the oncoming of the Punished. This time we are in a nightmare atmosphere; but the howling, grinning throng are powerless against the Good, "because there is Order. . . . They sank back of themselves, because of their own passions. Not by outward force, but inwardly. They impeded one another. They destroyed one another. It was merely a threat that had been; then the great gorge came forward like jaws, and took possession of them again."

The others by contrast now truly realise their happiness. The meaning seems to be that real joy is in simple things, in homely goodness, in duty, in human affections; that sin is its own punishment; but that we are not wise enough to see the one without the horrid vision of the other. M. R.

History

HISTORY OF THE IRISH STATE TO 1014. By Alice Stopford Green. London: Macmillan. 1925. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

WE have here a conspicuous achievement, a conspicuous instance of what courage, energy, sympathy and literary gifts of a high order can accomplish when set to a task that at first has been felt almost hopeless. We have a testimony also to the penetrating and quickening force of that unfailing light, overcast at times but never quenched, fed by the devotion of generations that stretch back from to-day into the ever thickening dark of bygone time, protected for some great design by a power stronger than empires, the flame of Irish nationality. Mrs. Green tells us that she was led to undertake this task through realising that a history of mediaeval Ireland could not be written rightly without a knowledge of Ireland itself, without investigating native records and evidences; and having realised this she set herself with singular intrepidity and tenacity to the *improbus labor* of half-a-dozen years, which she has brought to this successful result.

But for preparing anything like a full history of the period that saw the growth and decay of the ancient monarchy, the introduction of Christianity, the rise of the schools, progress in the arts, and other movements and activities of that remarkable era, the unremitted

toil of half-a-dozen years or of a whole lifetime, would not have been enough, so neglected has been the state of Irish historical studies, so unexplored, so scattered, so difficult of access, so unedited and undigested, lies the great mass of the extant material. Mrs. Green has not contemplated that impossible history. "I have not attempted," she says with a sound judgment, "to write a political history of the period, but simply to give a clear notion of the social and organized life of the Irish, their national character, culture and laws," observing "the methods by which the whole mass of the people were enlisted in the service of the law; the ceaseless transforming of strangers into citizens; the ancient problem of north and south." Thus the work naturally takes on, for a great part, the form, not of a progressive chronological exposition, but of a series of separate presentations of different features and constituents of national life at some stage of development; the organic state, the church, learning, the structure of society, law, its administration and practitioners, monasteries as centres of industry, public assemblies, &c., the mere recital of whose titles shows how rich and complex is the subject. Much of this matter is readily seen to be very technical in its character, and it has to be admitted, with such degree of national confusion as befits the fact, that no adequate study and examination of any complete section has yet been brought to any moderate degree of completeness. The shortcomings in the department of law, in which Mrs. Green has found the official publications to be a sort of quagmire where no prudent investigator can safely set his foot, have long been recognised; but in all departments there are shortcomings and oversteppings serious enough to make fulness and absolute accuracy beyond attainment until much preliminary work in the nature of research has first been done.

It is, therefore, no small credit to the writer of this history that, availing herself of the latest and most authoritative inquiries and the guidance of a number of masters of their respective subjects, she has achieved her purpose with a distinguished measure of success, and has produced with more vigour, clearness and fidelity than the political histories a picture of the ancient Irish world in broad outline and yet with much vivid detail. She has properly emphasised that which gives cohesion and vitality to the theme, the consciousness of a national unity. "Gael, Gael, beloved name," a poet put in the mouth of S. Columcille, knowing that his line would stir a deep sentiment in every hearer. This national consciousness found expression in early records of history and especially in a national system of law identical throughout all the self-governing principalities of the commonwealth.

Occasionally, perhaps, to prosaic minds the presentation may seem too enthusiastic, the pitch a little high, the colouring brighter than nature. Such will, doubtless, be the case where legend is drawn upon to clothe with forms of life the white skeleton of historic truth. This liberty has been generally used in later times and generally applauded, on the understanding that the full authority of fact is not claimed for these artistic touches. On the dramatic stage the character of Caesar is shown more faithfully and imagined more really when we see him in the alien flesh of a living actor or even in a marionette than it could be from an exhibition of the very bones of the great Julius, howsoever artfully assembled ; so in the historian's setting a juster image can be formed by a skilled addition of adventitious and quickening probabilities than by exhibiting with painful fidelity the bald and unsuggestive record preserved by an ancient chronicler. For such picturesque details as Mrs. Green has thus employed, she does not, of course, require a convinced assent, and she often warns the reader that they belong to legend.

A few identifications are open to question, even where the location is given some specified importance, as that of Belach Mugna with Ballaghmoon on the Lerr, near Castledermot, in Co. Kildare, instead of with Ballymoon near Bagenalstown, in Co. Carlow ; the site of S. Columcille's church at Derry with the Long Tower site, which was that of O'Brolchan's later church of 1162, the *teampull mor,* that gave name to the parish, while the monastery stood on the high ground within the walls, where the Protestant bishop's palace and the Protestant church of S. Augustine now stand. S. Finnen of Moville in the Ards (Finnia, Feb. 11, Sep. 10) is identified with S. Frigidianus (Freddiano, Mar. 18), bishop of Lucca, a circumstance not easy to establish historically. Mention is made at p. 182 of a correspondence of Alcuin with Colgu, professor at Clonmacnois. It is mentioned in the same way by many previous writers, including Dom Gougaud, and I myself, in my haste, once wrote after their authority and had no opportunity of revising my statement before it appeared in print. I have now no doubt that Alcuin's Colgu (a very common name) and his associated Joseph are sufficiently shown by the correspondence as a whole to have been monks in the north of England ; but Alcuin's attitude towards Ireland is otherwise exemplified in a letter of more importance addressed in the nature of a circular to the Irish monasteries and urging them to send missionaries to the continent, as they had done with abundant fruit in former times. The correction is, accordingly, rather formal than significant in that particular.

There is urgent need for serious, scientific, organized study of

early Irish history in all its applications, and the words of Mrs. Green's epilogue deserve the widest extension. "Materials certainly exist for such a study, whether we seek for them in famous manuscripts or in local records and traditions, whose study is of the utmost importance. There remain testimonies in our Museum [and still more in our fields and on our hillsides], possibly in forgotten and neglected ruins, in scattered literary fragments [in many a foreign library] . . . But none of the elements of an important and very critical period have yet been sorted out or co-ordinated." This history will be a revelation to some, a stimulus to others. It should be to all a reminder that a solemn duty to motherland, to the future as well as to the past, lies on us here and now, is not being fulfilled, and is crying for its fulfilment. C. McN.

VICISSITUDES OF AN ANGLO-IRISH FAMILY, 1530-1800. *A Story of Irish Romance and Tragedy.* By Philip H. Bagenal, O.B.E., B.A. (Oxon.) and Barrister-at-Law. London: Clement Ingleby. At the Sign of the Boar's Head, Great James Street, W.C.1. 1925. 21*s.* net.

This book tells the story of the family of Bagenal in Ireland. It is an odd book. It is brought out in an impressive *format*, a well turned out crown 4to. with illustrations and a large displayed pedigree. The publisher has done his part. The author, on his side, has not been sparing of his pains in many ways nor of his time, portion of the work appeared in print so far back as 1915; and beyond all question he has shown an earnest zeal to advance the glories of the name and state of the family to which he is affiliated. But there is hardly a page not disfigured by some blunder, some document mis-read, some name mis-rendered, some display of animus, some statement misused, something misunderstood, something withheld or something supplied unwarrantably.

The author's skill in handling documents may be appraised from a passage on p. 26, which in the ten years since he first printed it he has not seen reason to alter: "*Nicholas Bagnoll de Stoke supra Trent in comitatu Stafford, miles, recognavit se detere serempeniis dominis regi et regno mille libras.*" "*Serempeniis dominis*" is good, so distinctly good that the other little abnormalities are overshadowed. But at best the document is only an every day legal instrument in common form, dating from the reign of Philip and Mary, king and queen of England. There is nothing recondite in the original, one may be sure; and a person of scanter learning in law or Latin than is ordinarily associated with the distinctions of B.A. (Oxon.) and Barrister-at-law might fairly be expected to

have read and printed: "... recognovit *se* debere serenissimis *dominis regi et* reginæ *mille libras,*" acknowledged himself indebted to the most serene lords the king and the queen in £1,000.

But Mr. Philip Bagenal is not readily deterred from absurdities. When Hugh O'Neill wrote of a house near Dublin, that he meant to lie there when he had occasion to meet high officials of government, we have it (p. 53) that he meant to fly there. He even thinks (p. 107) that, after Dudley Bagenal had left Ireland with James II, the first Duke of Ormond, who was dead two years before the battle of the Boyne, "had no doubt a hand in limiting the confiscation of his property, so that his son Walter was able to regain possession of his inheritance." Such pitfalls beset the romantic and tragic path of a too suggestive historiographer.

Mr. Bagenal, however, is not always benevolent in his suppositions. The first of the family of Bagenal to come into Ireland was Nicholas Bagenal, son of a trader or craftsman who became Mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. This Nicholas held some yeoman's post in the service of Henry VIII, and in the latest years of that king's reign presented himself to easy-going Conn Bacach O'Neill, then O'Neill of Tyrone, as a fugitive from justice in England, accused of some unspecified homicide. "The fact that he had killed a man in a fray," it is suggested gratuitously at p. 18, "was perhaps the best recommendation he could have brought to Con Baccagh (The Lame) O'Neill, 1st Earl of Tyrone." It might be suggested with a stronger presumption of reason that, under a very common pretext of such people, Bagenal was sent over as a spy upon O'Neill at that most critical period for English rule in Ireland. The king's council in Ireland at all events a couple of years later praised the "very honest and faithful service" he had been doing since his arrival, and, Conn Bacach having in the meantime accepted an earldom and come to parliament to give Henry VIII the statutory title of King of Ireland, Nicholas Bagenal's meritorious outlawry, as this book naively represents it, was then brought to an end by a general pardon, granted with all due solemnity. His observations while under O'Neill's protection bore fruit as well for his own aggrandisement as for his employers' ends and the destruction of those who had given him shelter. He obtained first a lease and later a grant in perpetuity of the Abbey of Newry with its possessions and other ample lands on both sides of Carlingford Lough; he was knighted, appointed marshal of the army, and a commissioner for Ulster; and with that vantage ground and authority, he and his son and successor Henry Bagenal were among the foremost instruments of Tudor policy against the O'Neills and

the other Irish lords in Ulster. In the words of their eulogiser, "they preferred before all other interests and respects whatsoever, their obligations to their sovereign," just like other greedy confiscation hunters of their time.

But for the Irish Bagenals it must be said that they were not quick-change artists like the Boyles, the Cootes, the Clotworthies and their kind, but ran to the end the course to which declared principles had attached them. Colonel Walter Bagenal, great-grandson of Sir Nicholas, if he let his military honour as an officer of the Confederation be seduced by Ormond, paid the penalty by the hangman's rope when the Parliamentarians poured triumphant through the breach made for them by Ormond's intrigues and military incapacity. He was sentenced to death for murder on hearsay evidence, taken ten years after the event and given not *viva voce* in open court but by depositions made at different times, before different persons, and with nothing to show that the accused was present or had an opportunity of questioning the witnesses. By a special decree of the English Parliament, to make conviction more easy, these trials were differentiated from the course settled for Britain, and the accused person, as if being tried for high treason, was denied the assistance of counsel. What chance had he of defending himself, of detecting illegal evidence, especially when those most active in getting up the evidence were among his judges, like the notorious Dr. Henry Jones, by turns Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, Scoutmaster-General, or master of the spies, for the anti-prelatic commonwealth, and finally, with his Roundhead pickings, a Bishop again at the Restoration in a richer diocese, a man whom one of the Commissioners of Claims accused of being principal in a fraudulent claim before the Court? Mr. Bagenal, lawyer though he is, has a better word to say for these procedings than Ormond thought fit to place on record in his first address from the throne to the Restoration Parliament of Ireland, when he declared that those who sat as judges would more fitly have stood manacled in the dock.

In genealogy, where there is not room for political animosities, a rigid accuracy may be looked for in the setting out of the known facts; but the formal pedigree appended to this work has not been compiled so as to deserve confidence. At the beginning, Sir Samuel Bagenal is put down as the lawful issue of Sir Raufe Bagenal and Elizabeth his wife, which is not true, and is in fact contradicted in the text at p. 11. Whether later generations are set down with similar infidelity those best acquainted with the *chroniques scandaleuses* of our 18th century squirearchy will have least difficulty in

discovering. Here as elsewhere, throughout the volume the compiler's knowledge of places in Ireland is exceedingly faulty, *e.g.*, "Dunsloughley," Co. Dublin, and the locating of Enniscorthy in Connacht, because it happened to be mentioned in a letter from Loughrea. C. McN.

Liturgy

CATHOLIC LITURGY. Its Fundamental Principles. By The Very Rev. Gaspar Lefebvre, O.S.B. Translated by a Benedictine of Stanbrook. London: Sands. 1924. 7*s.* 6d.

INSTITUTIONES LITURGICAE. Tractatus primus: *De Sacra Liturgia Universim.* Auctore C. Callewaert, J.C.D. Editio altera. Bruges: Beyaert. 1925. 12fr.

HYMNS FROM THE LITURGY. Translated by the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, O.M.I. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THERE is much talk about liturgy now-a-days, and some talk foolishly. But Dom Lefebvre has so many wise things to say about the meaning, beauty and importance of our Catholic liturgy that we gladly forget the less wise things which others have said and done. Indeed it would be easy to prove from this book that Ireland is one of the most liturgical countries in Europe. In his concluding chapter Dom Lefebvre outlines the programme of a liturgical apostolate. Here are the main items:

Those who work at the liturgical apostolate should endeavour (1) to keep before them as the final and constant object of their worship the three August Persons of the Holy Trinity. . . . (2) To adore God the Father through the mediation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the great High Priest (present in the Holy Eucharist), and under the impulse of the grace of the Holy Spirit. (3) To make use in their prayers of the sacerdotal mediation of the Catholic hierarchy. . . . They should take pleasure in praying in union with their priests, and should show public marks of respect to the clergy wherever they meet them. (4) To attend if they can conveniently do so their Cathedral or Parish Church, in order to receive there the Bread of doctrine and the Bread of the Eucharist. . . . They should show respect to the churches. . . . On Sundays as a general rule they should be present at the High Mass. (5) To make the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass the centre of their spiritual life, by assisting at it every day, if possible. (6) To communicate often and especially on Sundays and festivals; they should if possible, make the same preparation as the priest. . . . (7) To have an ever-growing appreciation of the Sacraments. . . (8) To make frequent use of the Sacramentals, holy water, blessed candles, ashes, palms; the *Pater*, the *Confiteor*, etc. (9) To be present at some part of the Canonical Offices, especially on Sunday at Vespers and Compline. (10) To direct their prayers, even their private devotions, according to the anniversaries of the Life of Christ celebrated by the Church in her Calendar. (11) To observe in their devotion to the Saints the order established by Pius X in his reform of the Breviary. . . . (12) As far as possible to take an active part in the public prayers of the Church by reciting the liturgical

formulas, and especially by the chant. . . . This they should study in schools of Gregorian chant. (13) To use by preference the formulas of the Church's prayer contained in the Breviary and especially in the Missal, which should be their chief prayer book.

Now, if we examine our national conscience in the light of this programme, we may well feel guilty of neglect in the matter of (9), (12) and (13), and under (4) we have to deplore the rareness of High Mass in our churches. But these are minor points, and Dom Lefebvre wisely lays stress on the great underlying principles of Catholic liturgy. Judged by this standard we have all been liturgists, though we knew it not. And I cannot help thinking that Dom Lefebvre, were he writing for the people of Ireland, would approve without difficulty many of our Irish customs which some persist in classing as anti-liturgical. Take for example, the custom of saying Our Lady's rosary during Mass. The Missal is indeed the most beautiful of prayer-books, and educated Catholics should be taught to use and love it. But the poor have a surer instinct. Catholic liturgy teaches us to see the Cross in every altar ; and "there stood by the Cross of Jesus, Mary, His Mother." Our Irish poor need no liturgist to teach them how to hear Mass well.

But priests and lay-folk have much to learn from Dom Lefebvre, and his book should be bought and read everywhere in Ireland. Union with the sublime life of the Church in her daily worship is only possible to those who have been well instructed in their faith and in the meaning of Catholic liturgy ; and we should undoubtedly have more sermons on liturgical subjects. The people will listen and listen gladly. Dom Lefebvre is cautious in his remarks about popular devotions, statues, and so forth. These things are good, he implies, but must always be kept within due proportion. Sermons on the Mass, the sacraments, the great feasts of the year, and the commandments, are the principal means which he recommends for counteracting any exaggerated tendency, and he also puts in a plea for the old, simple altar of the Roman basilica. Here again he is right, and yet not wholly right. An altar which is covered with statues of angels and saints may not be strictly liturgical ; but it can be made very easily, what every Catholic altar should be, the centre of a Catholic community. Not so long ago, I went into one of our Dublin churches on a Sunday afternoon. It was the hour for children's catechism, and the parish priest was taking the class himself. His subject was the altar before their eyes, and he went from statue to statue explaining the meaning of each. The children plainly enjoyed the lively question and answer, but what sticks in my mind is the picture of half-a-dozen

"grown-ups" in the background, half-ashamed to be caught at a children's class, but straining their ears to catch every little detail about what was to them the centre of their lives. That was the true spirit of Catholic liturgy.

Dr. Callewaert provides priests with a useful liturgical text-book, of which this present volume in a revised second edition is only the first instalment. There are to be in addition separate treatises on the Breviary, the Missal, the ritual and the ecclesiastical year; the treatise on the Breviary being promised for next September. This volume consists mainly of useful bibliographies on the history of liturgy, together with a detailed account of the *fontes* from which liturgists draw their facts and conclusions. But the introductory chapter is of more general interest. What does the word "liturgy" mean? Greek usage still restricts it to the solemn celebration of Holy Mass. Western liturgists usually include the whole public worship of the Church under the term, and the title of Dom Lefebvre's book is to be understood in this sense. But Dr. Callewaert prefers a more definite meaning, which has the sanction of scholastic tradition and is found in the new code of Canon Law. For him "liturgy" means all those rites and ceremonies which the Church has herself elaborated for the purposes of worship, as distinct from the Sacraments and that part of the Mass which is of Divine, not ecclesiastical institution. His text-book deals with the subject thus clearly defined, and is intended primarily for use in seminaries.

Father Fitzpatrick's collection of hymns from the Liturgy includes almost all the most beautiful hymns in the Breviary and Missal—almost, I say, for I miss the beautiful hymn which every priest says daily at Prime. Some of the translations are excellent, and none are unworthy of the author's pious intentions. Those who cannot read and enjoy the Latin originals should be grateful to Father Fitzpatrick who here gives them an opportunity of joining with the Church day by day, and feast by feast, in some of her most touchingly beautiful prayers. A. G.

Philosophy

TRAITE DE PHILOSOPHIE. Par Gaston Sortais, S.J. Cinquième édition revue et augmentée. Paris: Lethielleux. 1923-1924. Tomes I. and II. 60 frs.

AN excellent example of the best type of French manual, the kind of book that the student who has finished his course will keep on his shelves as a permanent book of reference. The English student will

find it an invaluable guide to modern French philosophy, so neglected by the ordinary manuals, if we except Bergson. As a manual it is almost perfect, but as a body of doctrine it seems to the present reviewer to incline too much to the "left." The writer seems to aim at linking up with modern philosophy *via* Suarez; he is much more Suarezian than Thomist. Indeed he seems to go closer to Descartes than did the great Spaniard, and you get here and there almost an echo of Malebranche. He has a singularly interesting section (Vol. ii., p. 452), "La Vérité Illuminatrice," where he tries to get behind St. Thomas back to St. Augustine. What he says about the Divine illumination in cognition is very suggestive, but it seems to the present reviewer that he confuses the *lumen intelligibile* and the *lumen gratuitum*. It is in this confusion that we get a touch of Malebranche. This is but one of the many hares which Père Sortais starts for the confusion of hyper-Thomists.

This books follows the usual arrangement of manuals designed for the Baccalaureat, beginning with psychology and logic, passing on then from morals to metaphysics. The treatment of psychology is very full and thorough; so, too, the logic. Formal logic is treated somewhat briefly, but method and logica critica are fully handled. The treatise on morals is very complete and modern. It deals very fully with political and social principles, both national and international. As an exposition of Catholic French thought on questions such as education, relations of Church and State, etc., this book is of the greatest interest. A brief treatise on Aesthetics follows, with an excellent bibliography. These sectional bibliographies form a marked and most useful feature in Père Sortais' work. Then follows the treatise on metaphysics—soundly Suarezian, but wearing an ultra-modern biretta!

As a sort of appendix we get a list of suitable dissertations, a godsend to the gravelled examiner and the professor in search of a thesis. An excellent historical synthesis of the chief philosophic doctrines in the form of an index follows, enabling the reader to use the work as a history of philosophy. Finally, after the index of authors quoted, there is an analytical table, which combines a capital, if brief, philosophical dictionary with a very complete and ready index to the whole work. I have seldom met a book so well and conveniently indexed.

A real criticism of these two volumes would require a long article or rather a small volume. Personally we would be inclined to label Père Sortais as belonging to the left wing of the Scholastic party. He seems to us to reject certain fundamental positions of St. Thomas's system, but in this he has the authority of Suarez.

Now, with every respect to the great Spanish thinker, we do *not* think he improved on St. Thomas. He may well have improved upon his commentators and their innumerable manualists, who reduce the Doctor Communis almost to the level of Locke. We have to rediscover the Platonism of St. Thomas.

On all modern questions Père Sortais has that delightful French clarity which makes the reader's task a pleasure. The present edition, the fifth (13 to 15 thousand), shows his popularity in France, and it is well deserved. It is no small triumph to have written a work that is both an excellent class-book, clear, well-divided, systematic, and yet capable of serving as a little philosophical library of references, a book to keep when one has graduated, to use as a guide and reference. So much for the student; the professor will find in it a stimulus as well as a guide, a goad to drive him out of routine, a challenge to make his own teaching more living, more interesting. JOHN HOWLEY.

Politics and Economics

THEY MAKE A DESERT. By Francesco Nitti. Translated from the Italian by F. Brittain. London: Dent. 1924. 10*s* 6*d*. net.

WHEN Signor Nitti became head of the Italian Government in 1919, his first official duty was to sign the Treaty of Versailles. "I know that detestable Treaty thoroughly," he tells us, "by dint of a long study of it, and I considered it to be the ruin of Europe. I had taken no part in its preparation, and, therefore, was not responsible for it. The irony of fate willed that it should fall to my lot to sign the ratification of a Treaty which I believed to be equally ruinous for both victors and vanquished, being based on violence, on bad faith, and on the spirit of plunder." From that day to this Signor Nitti has worked indefatigably to avert the evils which were inevitable if the treaty were put into operation, and the present book is the third which he has devoted to the subject. To labour incessantly to undo the work of one's own hand must surely be an almost unique political experience; and it is only fair to emphasize that Signor Nitti was in no way responsible for the treaty, which was a legacy from his predecessors in office. To find an instance of the same gentleman negotiating, signing, and then repudiating a treaty, we must travel further west.

Signor Nitti's criticism of the Allied policy after the war is of a kind with which we are all, unfortunately, but too familiar. Indeed, at this time of day, he is really pushing an open door. His

disapproval of France is balanced by his admiration for England, but when he comes to deal with America, his attitude is more doubtful. He insists, rightly in our opinion, that the United States have a duty towards Europe in its present crisis, and that a policy of dignified aloofness is not worthy of that great nation. He points out that it was the Americans who finally won the war and who were most responsible for the terms of peace, and that Germany would not have surrendered when she did if she had not felt sure of being safeguarded by Wilsonian ideals from punishment. The whole book is one long appeal to the American people to come, even at this eleventh hour, and save Europe from further Balkanization and bankruptcy.

The follies of post-war statesmanship are, alas, but too familiar to us all. A feature of Signor Nitti's book, which is more original and interesting, is the cynical admission of the manufacture of deliberate lies by way of propaganda during the war.

> We had to win—to win at all costs. Just as poison-gas was employed, so propaganda was employed—not that any serious-minded educated man believed all the stories that were disseminated about the Germans, but it was useful to disseminate them. For an enemy to be beaten he must before all else be hated; and for him to be hated every kind of crime must be ascribed to him. . . . . During the war we fostered every kind of legend that would tell against the Germans, as part of our propaganda.

Everybody knows that most of the stories of enemy outrages current while the Germans were in Belgium were lies, but it is not even now widely enough understood that these lies were manufactured, just as deliberately as guns and ammunition. Thanks to Signor Nitti and his kind, we shall, it is to be hoped, be a little less credulous and more enquiring during the next war, to which the older statesmen of Europe are already looking forward.

G. O'B.

A GROUNDWORK OF ECONOMICS. By Joseph Johnston, M.A. Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. 1925. 2s. 6d. net.

As often happens in a new text book on an old subject, the introduction of this volume is, perhaps, its most interesting feature. It is there that Mr. Johnston most clearly reveals the ideals that inspire and the principles that guide him in his work as an economist. Those plain, blunt persons who proclaim that no good can ever come out of economics might well ponder over some of the author's remarks. As a matter of fact, such persons, always contemptible, are rapidly becoming a minority of very small dimensions. Should any of them wish to forsake their evil ways, they might do worse than begin by a study of this book.

"If, in the course of the last century, the moral nature of man had kept pace with the development of the intellectual nature, the present condition of affairs would be amazingly different from that with which we are familiar." So writes Mr. Johnston, and his words show that he has got very near the root of all our social troubles. We doubt whether he is correct in thinking that man's intellectual nature has developed so rapidly in the last century. Perhaps the phrase is meant to stand for man's control over the forces and his discovery of the secrets of Nature. But we certainly agree with him that most of the present ills of our social system have arisen from the neglect of the moral law. We wonder would Mr. Johnston go further with us and say that the observance of the ten commandments (which, we take it, is a *sine qua non* of any sound social system) ultimately can only be secured by religion and not by legislation.

Again, he maintains truly that "the economist must . . . . . take the world as he finds it," but insists that "that is no reason why the student of economics should leave it as he finds it." While the science of Political Economy can offer no panacea for existing disorders, "those who want to reform the world will be none the worse equipped if they possess an adequate knowledge of economics." And like St. Teresa and her confessors, we have a decided preference for a social reformer who is well read in economics.

The body of the book is clearly and brightly written in the modern fashion of economic text-books. The traditional divisions of the subject are kept, but we regret the absence of a fuller treatment of Consumption. We fancy that it is in this branch of the science that revision and development are most needed. But within its limits—and the author has only 109 pages—it is a good book and a very readable one. E. J. C.

Theology

L'ORDRE ET LES ORDINATIONS. Par J. Tixeront. Paris: Gabalda. 1925. 8*fr.*

THE title of this book and the name of the writer might lead us to expect a fresh work of research after the manner of Saltet's, now nearly twenty years old. But the author in the preface frankly disavows any such purpose. He gives some reasons also why the task was impossible for him under the circumstances. One was the difficulty of procuring the requisite books, especially from abroad, at any reasonable price. Another is more pathetic, and must be given in the author's own words: "Puis (m'ont manqué) les forces pour aller jusqu' au bout des recherches et de ne s'arrêter pas avant

qu' on n'ait tout éclairci. Quelque curiosité inquiète qu'on ait eue dans la jeunesse, un moment arrive où, par lassitude sans doute, on se contente volontiers des resultats acquis, et l'on ne songe plus à pousser au delà."

This little volume then is based upon "acquired results" and a bibliography not quite up-to-date. It makes no pretence of breaking new ground or shedding new light upon the dark places of the treatise on Orders. We may regret this, especially as the author of *L'Histoire des Dogmes* would, under happier circumstances, have been so capable of handling the subject. But we must respect the reasons and judge the result in the light of the aim intended. That aim is simply to present in a clear and interesting form the substance of our text-books on Orders. It was impossible for Abbé Tixeront to fail in so modest a design, and the reader who knows French will find a very readable and instructive account of most of the questions discussed by theologians apropos of the Sacrament of Orders. The very limitations imposed by age and circumstances on the writer prevent digressions, and make for ease and clarity in the narrative. If the student of theology has little new to learn from it, he can refresh his knowledge of the "acquired results"; and the educated layman will probably find many of these both new and interesting to him. Nowhere else will he find them offered in a more assimilable form.

Yet, in spite of the admissions in the preface, we must confess to a certain disappointment on two points at least. In chapter I, *Origine et Nature du Sacerdoce Chrétien*, we expected some reference to Père de la Taille's *Mysterium Fidei* and the controversies it has awakened. And in chapter V, *Le Ministre des Ordinations*, some notice was surely called for of the very remarkable discovery made by D. Frederico Fofi of two Bulls issued by Boniface IX. The first of these (1400 A.D.) gave to the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Osith, in Chich, Essex, the privilege of conferring on his own subjects not merely the diaconate but the priesthood! The second (Feb. 6, 1403) revoked the privilege at the instance of the bishop of London, who claimed that his predecessors had founded the monastery and enjoyed the right of patronage.

Both Bulls seem entirely authentic, and neither shows any trace of dogmatic difficulty in regard to the concession. Hence we have now a very powerful confirmation of the thesis of Vasquez and others with regard to the diaconate, not to speak of the still more daring thesis of Morinus with regard to the priesthood. It is too soon to decide what readjustments of received opinions these documents may lead to. Perhaps to none at all. But they certainly

call for careful consideration, and will not be met by the replies offered to Morinus' arguments from the chorepiscopi. New solutions, if not a new thesis, are needed. P. J. GANNON.

DE DEO CREANTE ET ELEVANTE, DE NOVISSIMIS. Auctore Bernardo J. Otten, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1924. Pp. 466. $3.75.

THIS volume of the Loyola University Press *Institutiones Theologicae* conforms to the rest of the series. It has the same qualities of order, brevity and clearness in the handling of the theses, the same wealth of objections very tersely put, and solved as tersely in strict scholastic form. It is printed in equally beautiful type on equally splendid paper, and bound and backed in the same faultless fashion. Hardly any other commendation is needed. The plan of the series is excellent. A manual or text-book should cover the whole ground, without exhausting any part of it. It should be synoptic in character, yet contain the germ to be expanded by the professor in his lectures. It should indicate the course of reading which the student will follow, and above all, the lines of defence. All this is admirably done by Father Otten, who has thus given us another text-book that may be safely commended to any school of theology in search of a thoroughly good one. Naturally the ground covered is common to all such manuals, and the justification for a new one lies precisely in the manner of treatment. Father Otten need not fear the reproach of having added to the number of uncalled for books. His handling of the objections alone would amply justify the appearance of this volume.
P. J. GANNON.

SERMONS ON THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES. Two volumes. 1920. 10*s.* 6*d.* net. each.

SERMONS FOR THE SEASONS AND PRINCIPAL FESTIVALS. Vol. I. 1921. 9*s.* 6*d.* net. Vol. II. 1923. 10*s.* net. Vol. III. 1925. 10*s.* net.

All translated from the Latin of St. Bernard by a Priest of Mount Mellary. Published by Browne and Nolan, Dublin.

IN a recent letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* (Aug. 6), Sir Edmund Gosse utters this vigorous complaint: "There is surely a strong element of humbug in the pretension that English people take any practical interest in literature. . . . . .The booksellers have no enterprise and no ambition in dealing with any books but those of the moment." May we take it as a happy augury of the re-awakening of the spirit which once made of Ireland an "Island

of Saints and Scholars " that she can boast of a bookseller who has the ambition and the enterprise to publish the works of St. Bernard ? Of St. Bernard Mabillon wrote :—

> Eloquence is natural to him. His style is nervous, his discourse vigorous, his language appropriate, his thoughts elevated, his sentiments pious, his humour not laboured. . . . . His discourse, says Sixtus of Sienna, is everywhere sweet, and yet fiery ; it so delights and at the same time, inflames, that honey and milk seem to flow together from his persuasive tongue, while jets of fire and flame burst from his heart of fire. As for his knowledge, it was far beyond the common. . . . . Can we wonder if a man so gifted is appreciated and his works sought out, read, and studied by all the world ; if editions of them without number appear, and if learned and experienced men employ their labour to augment, illustrate, and restore them to their original integrity " ?[1]

Yet, whilst Mabillon could point to the " editions without number " to be found on the Continent in his day, it is surely a striking confirmation of Sir E. Gosse's complaint, that until 1889 no complete edition had been offered to the English-speaking world. Since this edition of Dr. Eales, with the exception of a casual treatise at rare intervals, no scholar had turned his attention to this mine of oratory and learning. We are glad that at last one who can bring to the task the sympathetic understanding of a son interpreting his father, of a disciple following his master, of an heir displaying to us the rich treasures of his heirloom, has been found among St. Bernard's followers in Mellary.

St. Bernard, the third of the seven children of Tescelin, Lord of Fontaines, was born in 1090 in that portion of Burgundy which was later to glory in Bossuet and Lacordaire. Much as the family traditions and early surroundings might point to a career of arms, Bernard's heart was in the cloister, and in spite of opposition Bernard's resolution carried him to Cîteaux. In 1115 he was sent to found a monastery in a wild valley near the Aube, and he gave it a name which is for ever linked with his own—Clairvaux.

Coventry Patmore has happily said : " No man can move this world unless he stands upon another." He may indeed upset it, but he cannot move it to peace and harmony unless he be one of " the meek " to whom God promised possession of the land. Bernard was a monk and a man of action. He was all the more successful as a man of action, because he was a perfect monk. His noble mind was chastened by the silent contemplation of the cloister, to which his heart made him cling, and in the turmoils of the twelfth century he surely was best fitted to be the peacemaker whose life was the reign of peace. With a great deal of truth, Dean Milman

[1] Mabillon's General Preface (Dr. Eales Edition, pp. 3-4).

calls him " the governing head of Christendom "[1] in his age. His great talents made him the adviser of Popes and Bishops, and Statesmen ; but, more than all, his personal sanctity made the " man of God " respected. In the unhappy dispute which followed on the death of Honorius II, it was Bernard who convinced Louis VI of France, Henry I of England, Lothair of Germany, and the Count of Aquitaine that Innocent II was the true Pope. We find him staying the tide of heresy, settling quarrels, spreading monastic foundations ; in the space of 15 years he was responsible for the foundation or affiliation of 93 monasteries, of which three in England and one in Ireland. In the midst of all this activity he found time to compose works which won for him the title of Doctor of the Church and place him amongst the great orators of the world.

The Sermons on the Canticles must be considered his work of predilection. There are eighty-six sermons, which were spread out over eighteen years. As the Translator says : " In these days of spiritual renaissance, when so many souls are looking for light, when so many questions are being asked concerning the relation between modern mysticism and medieval, when mysticism itself is attracting so much attention, both within and without the Church, and so many religious ' specialists ' are loudly advertising their own misty varieties of the thing," it is imperative to sit at the feet of a Master who can speak with all the authority of learning and experience. The reader will learn little from the table of contents ; but if he allows the book to speak to him, it will unfold the story of the soul in its greatness, or rather the greatness of the love which, in St. Bernard's own vigorous expression, is so unique that " unless He loved us when we were His enemies, He could never have loved us as His friends ; just as we should not have existed at all to be the objects of His love had not His love embraced us when as yet we were non-existent." Dickens's " Death of Little Nell " has justly figured in literature as a masterpiece of pathos, but we venture to think that those who extol it have never read St. Bernard's "Lament over His Brother," in the twenty-sixth of these sermons, which Dom Rivet declares to have no equal in the Latin language since the Augustan age. We would add that, if the reader wishes to appreciate the worth of the present translation, he might read side by side the Mellary version of the " Lament " and that of Dr. Eales, and he will see how the voice of St. Bernard trembles more truly on the lips of his spiritual son. And this is doubly true of the many sermons which claim the understanding of a Catholic theologian. Varied as are the eighty-six sermons, there is a central theme

[1] *Latin Christianity*, viii, *p.* 302.

running though them, the soul in the greatness of the Divine call : at one time the deep roll of the *De Profundis* may be heard, but the cry is always *Ad Te, Domine*, and the answer from the throne of Love is *Excelsior*, " Friend, come up higher."

The other three volumes are true to their titles ; Advent, Lent, Easter, Pentecost, the principal Feasts of our Lord and of the Blessed Virgin make a new appeal to the soul through the rare imagination of the Saint, so imbued with the Scriptures. Vol. II contains two sermons on St. Malachy, together with the chapters on the closing scenes of St. Malachy's life, written by St. Bernard, chapters which are a perfect prose lyric.

We can only conclude with the wish that every book-lover will find a place on his shelves for these volumes, and that, if these lines catch the eye of one who is not a book-lover, the perusal of St. Bernard may make him one. We thank the translator for the loving toil which every page bespeaks, and we congratulate the Irish publishers for putting on the market books that are worth while.

G. Byrne.

Books also received :

Barrett, E. Boyd ... The New Psychology. (Harding and More, 12/6).

Betten, Francis ... Roman Index of Forbidden Books briefly Explained. (Loyola University Press, 15 cents).

Blackmore, Simon ... Spiritism : Facts and Frauds. (Burns, O. W., 15/-).

Blundell, Dom F. O. Old Catholic Lancashire. (Burns, O. W., 5/.).

Broad, C. D. ... Mind and its Place in Nature. (Kegan Paul, 16/-).

Brou, A. ... ... Le Dix-Huitième Siècle Littéraire. (Téqui, 7 fr. 50).

Brown, W. E. ... John Ogilvie : An Account of his Life and Death. (Burns, O. W., 7/6).

Bureau, Paul ... Towards Moral Bankruptcy. (Sands & Constable, 16/-).

Carr, John ... ... Some Reflections on St. Teresa of Lisieux. (Sands, 2/6).

Casotti, Mario ... Lettere su la Religione. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 7).

D'Agnel, Arnauld ... Saint V. de Paul, Directeur de Conscience. (Téqui, 10 fr.).

De Smet, A. ... Betrothment and Marriage. A Canonical and Theological Treatise. Vol. II., 2nd ed. (Herder, 10/-).

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Durrant, C. S. ... A Link between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs. (Burns, O. W., 15/-).

Elliott, Walter ... A Retreat for Nuns. (Washington : Apostolic Mission House, $2.25).

Fortescue, Adrian ... Boethius : De Consolatione Philosophiae. (Burns, O. W., 12/6).

Fox, Ralph ... The People of the Steppes. (Constable, 8/6).

Garriguet, L. ... Eucharistie et Sacré Coeur. (Téqui, 12 fr.).

Gennochi, G. ... San Paolo. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 20).

Gibert, G. ... ... La Sainte Enfance au Vicariat de Nankin. (Téqui, 1 fr. 50).

Giloteaux, Abbe P. ... Sainte Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus. Exposé synthétique de sa Doctrine. (Téqui, 7 fr.).

Books also received—*continued.*

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GRIMAUD, CHARLES ... Pourquoi Pas ? (Téqui, 3 fr. 50).

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TAYLOR, THOMAS ... The Life of St. Samson of Dol. (S.P.C.K., 5/-).

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